

¶ The first Booke  
OF THE HISTO-  
rie of the Discoverie and Con-  
quest of the East Indias, enterprised by  
the Portingales, in their daungerous  
Nauigations, in the time of King  
*Don Iohn*, the second of that  
name.

*Which Historie conteineth*  
much varietie of matter, very profitable  
for all Nauigators, and not vnplea-  
saunt to the Readers.

Set foorth in the Por-  
tingale language, by *Hernan*  
*Lopes de Castaneda*.

AND NOW TRANS-  
lated into English, by  
*N. L. Gentleman*.

¶ Imprinted at London, by  
*Thomas East*.

1582.

X



1. *Elm* *Ulmus*  
 2. *Box* *Buxus*  
 3. *Yew* *Taxus*  
 4. *Juniper* *Juniperus*  
 5. *Cypress* *Cupressus*  
 6. *Redwood* *Sequoia*  
 7. *White Pine* *Pinus strobus*  
 8. *Blue Pine* *Pinus strobus*  
 9. *Yellow Pine* *Pinus strobus*  
 10. *White Pine* *Pinus strobus*  
 11. *Blue Pine* *Pinus strobus*  
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 97. *White Pine* *Pinus strobus*  
 98. *Blue Pine* *Pinus strobus*  
 99. *Yellow Pine* *Pinus strobus*  
 100. *White Pine* *Pinus strobus*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



## To the right Worshipfull

Sir Fraunces Drake, Knight, N. L. G. wish-  
eth all prosperitie.



Hey haue an auncient custome in Persia (the which is also obserued throughout all Asia) that none will enterprise to visit the king, noble man, or perticularly any other person of countenance, but he carieth with him some thing to present him with all worthy of thanks, the which is not onely done in token of great humilitie & obedience, but also of a zealous loue & friendly affection to their superiours & well willers. So I (Right worshipfull following this Persian president) hauing taken vpon me this simple translation out of the Portingale tongue, into our English language, am bold to present & dedicate the same vnto you as a signification of my entire good will. The history conteineth the discouerie and Conquest of the East Indias, made by sundry worthy Captaines of the Portingales, in the time of king Don Manuel, & of the king Don Iohn the second of that name, with the discription, not onely of the country, but also of euery harbor apperteining to euery place whervnto they came, & of the great resistance they found in the same, by reson wherof there was sundry great batels many times fought, & likewise of the commodities & riches that euery of these places doth yeeld. And for that I know your worship, with great perill & daunger haue past those monstrous & bottomelesse seas, am therfore the more encouraged to desire & pray your worships patronage & defence therof, requesting you with all to pardon those imperfections, which I acknowledge to be very ma-



## *The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

ny, & so much the more by reason of my long & many  
yeares continuance in foreine countries. Howbeit I hope  
to haue truly obserued the literall sence & full effect of  
the history, as the Author setteth it forth, which if it may  
please you to peruse & accept in good part, I shalbe great-  
ly emboldened to proceede & publish also the second &  
third booke, which I am assured will neither be vnplea-  
sant nor vnprofitable to the readers. Thus alwaies wish-  
ing your good worship such prosperous continuance and  
like fortunate successe as God hath hetherto sent you in  
your daungerous trauaile & affayres, and as maye  
euerye waye content your owne heartes de-  
fire, doe euen so take my leaue. From  
London the fift of March.

1582.

**Your worships alwayes to commaund,  
Nicholas Lichefield, Gentleman.**





TO  
THE MOST HIGH  
*and mightie Prince our King*

and souereigne, Don Iohn, the  
third of that name, king  
of Portingale, and of  
the Algarues,  
etc.

**I** hath seemed to me so straunge and  
waightie a thing (most high & mightie  
Prince our king and Souereigne)  
to undertake to write of the most  
worthy and valyaunt acts which the  
Portingales haue enterprised in the  
discovery and conquest of the Indias,  
that oftentimes I thought to give  
ouer and relinquish the same, but as the attempt and doing  
thereof was principally taken in hande for the glorie of  
Almightie God, and to conuert those barbarous Nations  
to the Christian Faith, and the great honour of your high-  
nesse, wherein God gaue them (by his Omnipotent pow-  
er, fauour and mercye) such fortunate successe in the at-  
chieving of those famous actes, without whose great pro-  
uidence it coulde neuer haue bene performed or brought  
to passe. And therefore doe hope and altogether comfort  
my selfe with the ayde and assistance of his diuine good-  
nesse in publishing the same by writing, yelding the  
glorie thereof onely to his celestiall Godhead, and the  
praise



## *The Prologue to the*

praise terrestriall vnto your excellent highnesse, and to that famous and most happie king, Don Manuel your Father. And although the same be well knowne and spread abroad ouer all the worlde, yet it cannot be so perfectly published vnlesse it be set forth in writing. For by this meanes the memorie thereof will indure for ever, because that the writings will alwayes shew the same to be present. Like as it doth continue those actes of the Grecks, and of the Romanes, the which long since is past so many yeares. And therefore they lyke wise men, perceiuing the same to be true, did trauaile all that was possible to leaue the memorie thereof by writing, and noting that the worthinesse of the same did consist much in the eloquence of the writer, did therefore chosse such excellent learned men as those were that wrote the same, being thereto aided with much fauour and helpe, of others that were nothing inferior vnto theyr owne, & possible were far greater, but for that the same did not remaine in writing, there is no memorie thereof, euen as those of the Assyrians, of the Medes, of the persians, of the Affricans against the Romanes, of the Sweuians against Iulius Caesar, of the spaniards against the Mores in the recouerye of their Countrey of Spayne. Principallye of those inuincible and holye Kinges of Portingale your auncestours, the King Don Alonso Henriques, the King Don Sancho his sonne, the King Don Alonso, the which did gette the Kingdome of Portingale, and of the Algarues, in the which conquest there was wonderfull greates actes done, and that by force of Armes. Of all the which almost there hath remayned no memorie of that there shoulde haue bene, yea, those matters of the Indyas, the which was done but yesterdaie, there is no man that hath the same in memorie more then foure personnes, so that if they had dyed, all the same hadde ended with them, the which woulde haue bene imputed to theyr greates shame and rebuke.

And

## King of Portingale.

And I hauing a regarde, and partlye a remioſe to ſee this loſſe, did therefore determine my ſelfe to note of thoſe notable actes, the which your ſubiects hath done in the diſcouerie and Conqueſt of the Indias, of whole valiauntneſſe there is none of theyr progenitours of any age or antiquitie that euer did exceede them, no, nor yet were equall with them. For leauing a ſide the Conqueſt of the Semyrian of Cyro, Pirhus, and of other barbarous, all (the which was nothing in compariſon of this) and take amongſt them alſo that great Alexander the which was ſo feared and wondred at throughout all the world, ſince that the Indias is frequented by the Portingales: theyr doings are no more meruailed at, then a dead Lyon in reſpect of one aliue, for the Conqueſt of Alexander was all by lande, and againſt people that were ſmallie accuſtomed or frayned in the ſeates of warres, hee alwayes going in his roiall perſon, but this of the Indias was done by ſea, and that by your Captaines, being vpon the ſame a whole yeare, and eight monethes, and at the leaſt ſixe monethes, not along or nere any coaſt, but by the bottomeleſſe and great Decean Sea, and departing from the Iymites of the Decident, and bearing ſayle alwayes towarde the Cape De las Playas, or ſuch lyke, without diſcouering or ſeing any other thing, but onely the heauens and water, going round about all the Spheare, a matter neuer before attempted by anye moſtall man, nor yet almoſt imagined by anye, to put the ſame in practiſe, and they hauing paſt greate hunger, thirſt and other infirmityes, beſides that euerye day with thoſe furious ſtozmes and raines, in daunger a thouſand times of their liues. And as I ſay, they hauing paſt thoſe feares and daungerous troubles by ſea, yet after theyr arriuall into the Indias, found theſelues in great and cruell battells, (not with men that did fight onely with their Bowes, Arrowes, and Speares,) as they diide in Alexanders time, but with ſuch as were ſtout & of a haughty ſtomacke, and with men that were experienced in the wars,



## *The Prologue to the*

of the which kinde of people there is not onely in the Indias, but as farre as we can vnderstand, there is of the like in Asia, and besides they accustomed weapons (the which are many and good) yet they haue Ordnance, Calauerers, and many fire-works more plentie then the Portugales had, so that the power of these men was alwaies so greate, that the force of king Poro with whome Alexander did fight, was not comparable, yet notwithstanding the Portugales did giue them continually the ouerthrow, although they strength was but small, yet they neuer left the warres, as Alexander did. And leauing off to declare of the Grækes and of theyr actes, and now to come to the Romanes, who with theyr huge armye, and with theyr greate flete, the which seemed to couer the whole Sea, thought to conquest the whole worlde, yet they neuer durst aduenture by Sea further then the redde Sea, neyther yet the greatest of their famous victories, did or was euer lyke vnto the least of those battayles that was done by our men in the Indyas, in the which it is so well knowne, most inuincible Prince, the greate prosperitie of the King your Father and you, so that without moving of your selfe out of your pallaice, was discovered and conquered by your Captaines, the which neuer Princes could by themselves conquere or discover, so that there was neuer Conquest of the Barbarous, nor of the Grecians, nor of the Latymists, the which was of lyke difficultie as this hath bene, neyther yet Kinges nor Captaines, of none of all these Nations, was so equall in force nor yet in valyauntnesse as those of your Father, and of yours, the which is manifestly declared by the discourse of the historie following.

And touching theyr greate actes which they dydde wortheelye fulfill and bring to passe, we must verelye beleue that it was Gods good will and pleasure, that those Barbarous, being discovered with theyr vaine Idolls, and with the false sect of Mahomet, shoulde ioyne them

## *King of Portingale.*

themselves with the Catholike faith, and to be as it wer in one Cozall, and vnder one Pastour or Shepheard, as at this pzent the great multitude that hèreby are increased to the Christian Religion, is a manifest testimonie and witnesse thereof. After which great exploytes, your Highnes gaue commandement that the Christian doctrine of the Brotherhood of the company of Iesus should be there instructed & taught them, of the which your Highnesse hath had so speciall a care like a most godlye and Christian Prince, that not onely you were the first that commaunded the same to be brought from Rome, for that they might bee the better instructed in all their Kingdomes, but also doeth maintaine vpon your owne charges in this holy companye the multitudes that doeth daylye submit themselves to the same. As we doe see in the sumptuous Colledge of Coimbra, where to ennoble and augment the honoz of your kingdoms, you haue erected and founded an Uniuersitie: where, with the charges that is daylye done there, and with your countenaunce together, it is hoped, that the same may be accounted amongst the flourishing Uniuersities of all Europe: whereas there is maintained also vpon your charges manye Colledges of the order of poore begging Friers, and others of like profession, for like as the reformation that was there made was profitable to them all: so he commaunded, that there should be many Diuines for to declare the Euangelicall law, which your Highnes is not onely at this charges with religious men, but also with tempozall men, for as there is many of your subiects that doth defend & state Republike or Common welth, and doth inlarge the same with their armour, so ther are others that doth beautifie the same with learning. These heroycall vertues of your Highnesse being so well knowen vnto me, forsomuch as this Booke, besides others that I haue made, hath some tast or kindred of learning, doth incourage me the moze to set them forth, for that as I say, there may remaine a perpetuall memozye of so notable actes as so many Gentlemen and Knights of



## *The Prologue to the*

the Portingales your subiects hath done, the which hath benefitted me very much, my being in the Indias, where I tra-  
uayled with my Father, who by your Highnes commaun-  
dement was sent thether to serue as a Iudge. And for that  
I spent all my youth in learning, and gaue my selfe greatly  
in reading of auncient Histories, and hauing seene and read  
a great part thereof, did then immediately procure to know  
and with all diligence did my best indeauour to vnderstand  
what had bene done in the Discoverie of the Indias, and in  
the Conquest of the same, by the Portingales, with the in-  
tent as aforesayde, which was to make the same knowen,  
and common to all men: by meanes whereof, and thzough  
the instructions of sundry Gentlemen and Captaines, ma-  
ny things came to my knowledge, by such persons as were  
then and there present, as well in the counsaile for the pro-  
uision for that which should be done, as also in the executi-  
on thereof, and otherwise by many letters and pamphlets,  
the which were wzitten by men of great credite, and lyke-  
wise examined as sufficient witnesses for better credite of  
the worke. Moreover, I did not onely vse this diligence in  
the Indias, but after my comming to Portingale didde the  
lyke. For as those matters the which I meant to wzite  
of, were many and of sundrye orders, so it was necessarye  
to enforme my selfe of the same by manye: and beside that  
those that gaue me this instructions wer sworn, yet I was  
licensed to present them as witnesses. There were of them  
that I sought in the most part of Portingale: for what with  
the great trauell of my person, and expences of my goodes,  
for that they were seperated in sundry parts, and in this I  
haue spent the most part of my lyfe, forsomuch as this was  
my onely recreation, hauing iopned together all these infor-  
mations, since my being in the Vniuersitie of Coimbro, in  
your Highnes seruice, at such time as I found my selfe not  
occupied with the executing of my office, with great trouble  
(not onely of the body, but also of the spirite) made an end  
of this Booke with others, the which I doe humbly offer  
vnto

unto your Highnes, whome God (after manye and most  
fortunate yeares , remayning in your place  
the Prince) take and receiue you  
from the seruice of the  
earth, unto the ioyes  
of heauen,

Your Highnes most humble Orator,  
Hernan Lopes de Castaneda,





Into your Highness, I have God (after making and well  
to intimate words, a compassing in your place  
the person) take and receive you  
from the service of the  
early into the joys  
of heaven.

Your Highness most humble Obedience  
Thomas Lopez de Colmanche





## **How the King Don Joan the second**

of that name, did send to seeke out by sea and by land the East India, and of the newes that was brought him of the same. Cap. i.



**W**HEN King Don Joan the second of that name, & of the Kings of Portingale, the thirteenth, perceiuing that all the Spices, Drugs, Stones, and other riches, which came to Venice, were brought out of a certaine Province of the East parte: And as he was a

Personage of an hautie stomacke and valsaunt minde, so was he desirous to inlarge his Kingdome, and increase the Christian faith, and therefore he determined to discover by Sea, the Country, from whence so great plentie of riches came, that thereby his Subiects might be enriched, and his Kingdome of Portingale enjoy all such commodities as came from thence to Venice. Moreover, to discover the same Countrey, he was the rather animated and enclined, so that he was given to vnderstand, that in the East India, were Christians, which were gouerned by a King of great power called Prabsiter

B.

Joan,



## The Conquest

The order  
of Christ  
in Portin-  
gale giue  
vnto No-  
ble men  
& Gentle-  
men & to  
some that  
are made  
knyghts.

Ioan, with whom Don Ioan thought good to haue acquaint-  
taunce, and to know him by his Ambassadors, and the ra-  
ther for that he was reported to be a Christian Prince :  
And therefore consulting with the Cosinographers of that  
time, he gaue them in charge to proceede and goe forwarde  
by example of others, which had sayled along the Coast of  
Guynce, which Coast was before that time discovered by  
commaundement of the Prince his Uncle, Master of  
the Order of Christ, who had sent for that purpose, one Bar-  
tholome Dyas, one of the Officers of his Storehouse in  
Lysborne, who did discover that great & monstrous Cape,  
not known of our Ancestours, which is now called the  
Cape of Buena esperansa: And finding there matter of  
great terrour and daungers, he passed beyond the same, one  
hundred and fortie leagues, where, comming to a Riuer,  
which he named Rio del infante, from thence he returned  
to Portingale. In this voyage, he gaue to the Ports, Har-  
bours, and Riuers, where he toke in fresh water, they  
names, which at this present they doe retaine. Likewise,  
he erected there certaine markes with Crosses, and with the  
roiall Armes of Portingale, and the last that he erected, was  
in a Rocke, the which they named, El pennol de la crus,  
which standeth fiftene leagues on this side the foresayde  
Riuer. And from thence he returned without hearing any  
newes, or yet hauing any further intelligence of that India,  
by reason all the Inhabitaunts along those Coasts bee al-  
most a sauage and a wilde kinde of people, and of coulour  
blacke.

This voyage and intelligence, being intimated and  
reuealed to the King Don Ioan, he forthwith minded to dis-  
couer that India by land, albeit before that time he had dis-  
patched and sent for the same discoverie intended, a Fryer  
of the order of Saint Fraunces, called Fryer Antonio de  
Lixbona, by land, in the company of a temporall man, which  
two persons, for want of the Arabian tongue, could not well  
trauaile those parts, so that they went further then to  
Ierusalem, from whence without proceeding in the cause of  
that

## of the East India.

2

that iourney, they returned into Portingale.

The King neuerthelesse continuing to prosecute to effect his determination for discouerye of that India by lande, did thereupon chuse two of his owne seruantes, men of good knowledge, and dilygent in whatsoeuer they were to be imployed; the one called Pedro de Coullian, bozne in the saide Village, and the other called Alonso de Payua, bozne in the Towne of Castil Blanco, which did verie well vnderstande the language of Arabia, to whome he tolde how that he had made choyce of them, as of persons apt to execute his pretence, which was to discouer by lande as well the Countrey of Presbiter loan, as also that, from whence the Drugges and Spices come to Venice: Giuing them in charge, and that earnestly to make dilygent enquire; and gather certaine knowledge whether that from the Cape of Buena Esperansa forwarde there were anye nauigation to the East India, and that they shoulde set downe all thinges they founde necessarye to bee knowen, or that they coulde by anye possible meane learne or gather of the same for certaintye: Commaunding also a Sea Carde to bee ginen them, which was taken out of a Mappe of the whole worlde, by a Maister of Arte, called Calsadilla, Bisshoppe of Vyseu, who was a good Astronomer.

Another  
iorney by  
lande at-  
tempted.

Moreouer, hee gaue them a Letter of credite, whereby they might bee succoured and protected from, and in, daungers of death, and in cases of necessitie and want of money, in whatsoeuer Kingdomes and Countreyes they hadde shoulde be to trauaile. And for theyr charges, hee commaunded to giue them foure hundred Crownes out of the Chest of the Orcherd of Almeyn: Of which summe, they tooke as much as they deemed would suffice for theyr expence, untill they came to Valencia in Aragon, putting the residue in the Bancke of Bartelme Florentine to be deliuered them there: and so he gaue them the blessing of God and his, in the presence of the King

B.ii.

Don



## The Conquest

Don Manuel, who at that time was Duke of Vesa.

After this they departed from the Willage of Santaren the seauenth day of May, in the yeare of our Lord, a thousand foure hundred foure scoze and seauen, and came to Naples vpon Saint Iohns daye the same yeare, from whence they were set forward on their way, by Cosmo de Medicis sonnes, and so went they from thence to the Rhoodes, of which Religion, wer then none other but Portingales. And from the Rhoodes they went to Alexandria, from thence to the Cayro, as Merchants, and from thence in the companie of certaine Moores of Feez, and Tremencen, they came to Toro, which is a place that hath his harbour in the Straights of the red Sea in the Coast of Arabia, at the fote of the Mountaine Sinay, where they vnderstood manie matters of the Indies, and of the trade those places had out of the Straights to Calicut: and therebpon they trauailed to another place in the selfe same Straights of the Redde Sea, ouer the Coast of Aethiopia, from whence they went to Edin: And soz that it was out of the waye to the Indies, they parted companie and seuered themselues: Alonso de Payua remained to go ouer by land to the Emperour of Aethiopia, which is he, whom we before hane named vpon error Presbiter Ioan: soz the certaintie is, this is he of whom Marco Paulo maketh mention in his booke, who gouerneth all the Indies, and whose Countrey ioyneeth vnto the great Cam of Catayo, where in a battaile betweene them fought, the saide Prestter Ioan was vanquished and dyed. And so thenceforth finally ended his Kingdome, so that in these dayes, there is in trueth none of that name oꝝ race that raigneth oꝝ gouerneth. It is to be vnderstode, that Alonso de payua did verely beleue, that this Emperour of Aethiopia, was this supposed Presbiter Ioan, by reason he was informed and had intelligence that the same Emperour was a Christian, and the People of his Kingdome were also Christians, as heereafter I shall declare, when occasion shall serue.

Presbiter  
Ioan by  
error, is  
the very  
Emperour  
of Aethi-  
opia.

For which cause, I am in opinion, & Alonso did depart to-  
wards his Court, taking order and determining with Pe-  
dro de Couillian, that at a time appointed they shuld meet  
in the great Cayro: This conference and determination  
betwene them so had and accorded upon, Pedro de Couil-  
lian went towards the Indies in a shippe of the Moores of  
Cananor, and being come to the Indies, he went to the  
towne of Calicut, and to the Ilands of Goa, where hee ga-  
thered perfect information & intelligence of the spices which  
they haue in the Indies, and of the commodities which  
come from other places, and of the lyke sorte of Townes  
which were ther in the Indies, of all which he set downe the  
names in the Card he carried with him, albeit ill written.  
And after he had seene those places, he went to Sofala, where  
he gathered knowledge of the great Iland of San Lauren-  
so, which the Moores doe call La ysla de la Luna: And see-  
ing the people of Sofala, to be blacke as those of Guynce  
are, he thereupon surmised that all that coast was subdued,  
and that they might goe by Sea to the Indias, and there-  
fore returning thence, he went to Ormus, and so to Cay-  
ro, where hee vnderstode that Alonso de Payua was  
dead: And being desirous to returne to Portingale, by  
chance hee mette with two Iewes of Spaine, the one cal-  
led Raby Abraham, bozne in Vesa; the other Ioseph,  
bozne in Lamego: These after the departure of Pedro Co-  
uillian and Alonso de Payua, from Portingale, tolde the  
king Don Ioan, that they had bene in the Cayro, & vnder-  
stode there much newes of Ormus, and of theyr tract had  
with and into the Indies: Whereupon the king sent let-  
ters by Raby Abraham to Pedro Couillian, and to Alon-  
so de Payua, declaring that his pleasure was, they shoulde  
retourne in the companie of those Iewes, if they had seene  
all those thinges, whereof he gaue them charge and  
commaundement, at their departure: if not, that then they  
shoulde sende by those Iewes a declaration, and true re-  
porte what they had seene, and had intelligence of: And  
moreouer that they shoulde procure to attaine to the sight



## The Conquest

of Presbiter Ioan, and also shewe and informe what they  
 coulde concerning Ormusc to Raby Abraham so that hee  
 had sworne by his latwe neuer to retourne to Portingale,  
 unlesse hee first sawe the same: Upon receipte of which  
 letters and message, Pedro de Couillian his purpose of re-  
 tourning to Portingale was then stayed: And therefore he  
 forthwith dispatched Ioseph with letters to the King, his  
 Lorde and Maister, wherein hee related and fully declared  
 in euery respect what hee had seene in the Indias, and of So-  
 fala: and likewise hee sent the Carde in which all the  
 Townes names were put downe, that hee had seene: In-  
 forming also the King Don Ioan, that the Emperour of  
 Aethiopia is hee who is supposed to bee y Presbiter Ioan:  
 But I am of opinion, that in Portingale remaineth this  
 name of Emperour of Aethiopia, for that in his kingdome  
 hee is not called by the name of prester Ioan, as I will  
 hereafter declare: When Ioseph was departed, Pedro de  
 Couillian, with Raby Abraham, went towards Ormusc,  
 and thence to the straights of the red sea, and hauing shew-  
 ed to the same Raby those places and scituation therof, Pe-  
 dro Couillian then sent him to Portingale, with letters to  
 the king, importing what hee shewed him, and how that hee  
 himselfe was determined to make his boyage to Presbiter  
 Ioan, and after this pursuing that his intent accordinglye,  
 he came to the presence of y Emperour, that then ther reig-  
 ned and gouerned, whose name was Alexander, of whome  
 hee was verpe well receiued, and when hee had presented  
 vnto him the letters of the king Don Ioan, he accepted  
 the same verpe ioyfully, in that they came from a Christi-  
 an Prince so farre distant from his Countrie: Wherebeit  
 hee gaue to the same little credite, and yet neuerthelesse hee  
 gaue vnto Pedro de Couillian, great honour and gifts: and  
 when hee was in a readynesse to departe thence, and expec-  
 ted licence for the same, which hee had requested, and should  
 haue bene graunted him, the Emperour then deceased: af-  
 ter whome succeeded in the Empire another named Nahu,  
 hee coulde not by him bee lycensed to depart thence, neither  
 yet

The king  
 of Portin-  
 gales let-  
 ters deli-  
 uered to  
 the Empe-  
 rour of  
 Aethiopia

Yet of his sonne David, who was Emperour also, and succèded Nahu: so that Pedro de Couillian, remayned in that Countrey, and neuer after returned into Portingale, neyther yet the King Don Ioan euer hearde or vnderstood moze of him, and therefore supposed him to bee dead. One by there remaineth the information of his trauailes, which hee had sette downe and written in the letters which the Iewes carryed: After this came to Lishborne a Frier out of the Countrey of Presbiter Ioan, to whome the king shewed great curtesie, and vpon whose reporte, and great relation made of that countrey, the king then determined to proceede in, and follow the discovering of the Indias by Sea, and therefore hee commaunded two little Shippes to bee made, committing the charge of that preparation, and appointing for ouersier or surueiour of the Timber then cut for that purpose, one Ioan de Braganca his seruauant borne in the woodes, in a village called Daluor, and was brought to Lishborne to the house of the Myna, in the yeare of our Lord a thousande foure hundred nintie five, the five and twentie daye of October in the same yeare: and afterward did succède in that Kingdome, the most high king of glorious memozye Don Manuel, by whome also it appeared that he was there elected by diuine prouidence for discovery of those Countreies and Prouinces, whereby the Christian faith is so greatly increased and enlarged, & the royall house of Portingale so mightely honoured, and the subiectes of the same so plenteously enriched.

¶ How King Don Manuel the first of that name, prepared after the deccase of King Don Ioan, to discover the Indias by one Vasco de la Gama, and by other Captaines, and howe they departed from Lyshborne,

Chap. 2.

The



## The Conquest



**D** C King Don Ioan being dead, Don Manuel then succeeded him, in whome appeared a higher stomacke, and more valyauntnesse of minde (for attaining of things impregnable & making triall, and executing matters that passed common caparitie of man, and aboue the reach of naturall knowledge) then was in Alexander the greates. Don Manuel now come to the crowne, and earnestly minded & bent to prosecute that which his predecessor Don Ioan had begun, for discovering of the India, and being therein greatly furthered by such matter, order, and intelligence, as he found, and were left by the late king for navigation to those farre countries: he then commanded that Fernan Lorenzo, Treasurer of the house of the Myna, should cause to be made and prepared of the timber which was bought in king Johns time, two shippes, whereunto after they were finished, he gaue the names, to the one, the Angel Gabriel, being of an hundred and twentie tunne: and to the other Saint Raphael, a shippe of one hundred tunne. And to goe in the companie of these ships, the king then bought of a Pilot that was borne in Lagos, called Berrio, a Caruell of fiftie tunne, which had and bare the selfe name of the Pilot: Moreover he bought a ship of two hundred tunne, of one Ayres Correa. These shippes thus made readie and prepared, and the king then being in Monte mayor the new, with his first wife the Quene, Dona Izabel, in the yeare a thousand foure hundredth nintie seven, he then gaue the chiefe Captaine shippe of this voyage vnto the Indias to Vasco de la Gama his seruant, who also before was seruant to Don Ioan, & borne in the towne of Synis, a harbour towne in the fields of Dorrieke. The same was a man experimented in matters of the Sea, and of navigation, wherein he had done to this kingdome great seruice. And so, as much as he was a man of greates courage and valure, and therefore very apt and likely to attaine and atchiue the end, y was by the king desired, the king then accordingly in presence of many noble personages, to his great praise,

praise, and no lesse encouragement, commaunded him, when he gaue him the charge of that iourney, earnestly also requiring him, to aunswere and satisfie the expectation and credit he had conceiued of him and reposed in him, which if he did, he would then very largely reward that his indeauour, and tranell, and so liberally deale towarde him, as he shoulde finde himselfe satisfied for that his dilligence and seruice imployed: and for some proue of those princely and louing speaches, he then beganne to make perfozmaunce of parte thereof, at that verpe instant, giuing him an Encomenda, with money to put himselfe in a readinesse for that volage: And for to goe with him, the king also dispatched one Paulo de la Gama, brother to the Captaine Generall, and one Nicholas Coello, both of them the kings seruants, and men meeete and apt for whatsoeuer matter of enterprize or cause of valiauntnesse: Moreover he appointed one Bartholome Dyas, to goe with them in a Carnell to the Myna: And for that in the ships of warre, sufficient victuals for the people in the same, could not be carried further then to a place called Saint Blaze, where they must of course take in fresh water, the king gaue commaundement that the shippe of Ayres Correa should goe loaden with victuals vnto that place in the companie of the Fleet, and there to take out the same, and then to burne the said Ship. The Captaine Generall thus informed, and dispatched, departed with the other Captaines from the Kings court, towarde Lishborne, where the ships being in a readinesse, he imbarked his companie, beeing one hundred fortie and eight persons, in Belen, one league from Lishborne, vpon the Saturday being the eight day of Iulye, in the yeare of our Lorde God, a thousand foure hundred nintie and seauen. At which imbar- king all the religious men of our Ladie Church in Belen, which is a Monestarie of Saint Hierome, went in Proces- sion bare footed, and in their cowles with ware Candles in their hands praieng, and the most part of the people of Lishborne with them, al of them weeping and pitieng those that so imbarked themselves, supposing they shuld all die in that

The num-  
ber of per-  
sons in this  
voyage.



## The Conquest

so aduentrous and dangerous voiage, as in deede the presumption and common opinion thereof was greate, and no lesse to be adindged of. The Generall and other his Captaines with their people so imbarked, and by the multitude and companie then present, commended to God and good fortune, they forthwith made saile and departed: The Captaine Generall went in the Ship called Saint Gabriel, hauing Pilot for y same, one Pedro de Alanquer, which was Pilot with Bartholome Dyas, when he went to discover y riuer called El ryo del ynfante: The brother of the Captaine generall, went in the ship called S. Raphael: Nicholas Coello went in the Caruell Berrio, & one Gonsalo Gomes, seruuant to the Captaine generall, went for Captaine of the ship that carried their victuals. Thus being set forward and vnder saile, the Captaine generall commaunded, that if by any happe whatsoeuer, they should bee seuered and lose each other, they shuld euery one make, and keepe, their route or course to Cabo Verde, where they would ioyne themselves together againe. And so following their voiage, they came within eight dayes after to the sight of the Ilandes of the Canaries, from whence going ouer against the Riuer called Ryo de Oro, the night did growe so darke, and such great tempest and storme rose as they lost each other, and therefore they retourned their course towarde Cabo Verde, and Paulo de la Gama, Nicholas Coello, Bartholome Dyas, and Gonsalo Gomes, hauing met, and after eight daies sailing together, they came to sight of their Captaine Generall, vpon the wednesdaye in the Euening, and saluting him with many shot of ordinaunce, and with sound of Trumpets, they spake vnto him, each of them heartely reioysing, and thanking God for their safe meeting, and good fortune in this their first brunt of daunger and perill: The next day being the twentieth day of Iuly, the Captaine generall with all his flect, attained vnto the Ilands of Sancty Ago: wher coming to anker in y play de Santa Maria, they remained there seuen daies, taking in such water as they had need of, & repairing the yards of their ships and other harmes

## of the East Indians.

6

harmes they had receiued in the storme past. Tuesday being the third day of August, the Captaine Generall departed thence, following his course to the East, but first before his departure he tooke his leaue of Bartholome Dyas, who returned into Portingale: And going towarde the Cape of Buena Esperansa, with all the ships of his companie, he entered the goulfe into the Sea, and from thence sailed all August, September, and October, in which time they sustained many and great tempests, or rather torments of outrageous windes and raine, so that they expected nothing but present death, which still was represented before them by view of the manifold dangers and perills, they presently then saue, and whereof they were forced to abide the eventure: Being thus perplexed, God of his diuine goodnesse recomforted them, so upon the saturdaye, being the fourth day of Nouember at nine of the clocke in the fore none, they saue land, whereat they greatly reioysed, and all the Captaines being together, they then saluted the Generall, all of them apparelled in their best araie, and hauing decked and garnished their shippes with flagges accordingly, they drew nere the land as the generall had commaunded, who was desirous to haue landed: Howbeit for that they did not know the land, he commaunded them to cast about a sea boord, and so they passed along by the same untill tuesdaye following, at what time they came to perfect viewe and sight of the land, perceiuing the same to lye lowe, and that there was a great bay, which as it was a conuenient place for the ships, so he commanded them to fall to an anchor there, of purpose to take in water: And afterward they named it the Island of Sancta Haelena. The people of the countrie within the said Island, as our men afterward found the same: be lyttle men, ill fauoured in the face, and of colour blacke: and when they did speake, it was in such manner as though they did alwayes sigh, theyr apparell is of beastes skinnes made after the manner of the French Cloakes, they trusse vp and hide theyr members in certaine Cases made of woode berpe well wrought.

Bartholome Dyas returneth into Portingale

Descripti  
on of the  
people &  
manners  
of Saint  
Helens  
Island.

C.ii.

They



## The Conquest

They haue for armes or weapons certaine staves of an Oke tree bathed or toasted with fire, at the endes wherof are hornes of beasts, somewhat burnt or hardened with fire, also seruing them for swords, and wherewith they do hurt their enimie. These people doe mainteine themselves with rootes of hearbes, with Sea Moultes, and Whale fish, of which the countrie there hath great plentie, and likewise of sea crows, and sea mewes: Also they doe eate of beastes, which they call Gazelas, and of doues, and other beastes and birds which they haue in the land: They keepe also dogs as those ben of Portingale, barking after the same manner: The Generall thus lyeng at Anker, commaunded to goe rounde about the Ilande, to see if there were anie riuer of sweete water, and finding none, he then sent Nicholas Coello in his boate along the coast to seeke out water, which he found folwe leagues of from thence, the which he named Sancty Ago, from whence the whole Flotte provided themselves of fresh water. The next day the Generall and the other Captaines, and some of their companie went a shore, intending to see and view what manner of people they were, that inhabited that countrie or land, and whether they coulde informe him how farre from thence the Cape of Buena Esperansa was, which he knew not, neither was the head or chiefe Pilot of that voyage of any certeintie which it was, for that in the voyage, wherein hee went before with Bartholome Dyas, he departed in the morning from the Cape into the Sea, and past the same in the night, with a sore winde, and at his first going, came not nere the Shore: By reason wherof he did not know the land, notwithstanding, hee coniectured and deemed it not aboue thirtie leagues distant from thence at the uttermost: The Generall being disembarked and come to land, and walking there he ouertooke a man, one of the inhabitants of the same, who was going to gather honny at the fote of a bush, where the Bees made the same without anie hie, with this man, the general returned vnto his ship, right well contented, thinking he had gotten by him an interpreter, but it happened not so, for ther

was

was not any of that company could vnderstand him: The Generall commaunded to giue him meate, and he did both eate and drinke of all that was giuen him, and when they saw he vnderstood none of their languages, nor any of them had any vnderstanding of his, he was the next daye set vpon the shore well apparelled, from whence he went as it appeared, amongst others his countrey men, for that y next day then following, (vpon shew of himselfe to them) there came about the number of fiftene of his Countrey men, where our ships were: At sight of which the Captaine generall went to lande, carrying with him Spice, Golde, and Pearle, to make triall, whether those people had any knowledge of the same, or of any part thereof: but by the litle estimation they seemed to make of those things, it appeared they had no knowledge of the same. Then they gaue them bells, litle rings of tinne, and counters, and of these things they wer very glad, and from thence forward vnto the next Saterday following, very many of them repayed to our Fleete, and those people so returning to their Townes, one of our men desirous to see the same, and to vie the order and manner of their liues, craued then licence of the Generall to goe with them, whose petition, albeit he was verie vnwilling to condescend vnto, yet vanquished by importunitie, he graunted the same. Fernan Veloso (for so was his name that was licensed) then going in their company, they tooke a Sea Moulse, which they rosted at the foote of a hill, and supped altogether: after which it then appeared, that they of that Countrey had armed themselves, and practised treason against our men: for so sone as they had supped, they caused Fernan Veloso, to returne to our Fleete againe, which was hard by, and when he was departed from them, they followed and came after him a litle and a litle, the manner whereof, Fernan espiong & fearing, he there fore hasted to the water side, and hailed to our ships: The Generall then being at supper, and hearing that call, and looking out to landward, sawe those sauage people coming after him, and presently imagined they meant him harme, and

Treason  
by these  
men ima-  
gined a-  
gainst  
ours.



## The conquest

and therefore forthwith he commaunded the whole Flæte to put thep selues in battaile araye, and he himselfe with certaine others, went to landward without anye weapons, dæming berely that those blacke men meant him no harme, nor would offer anye force: and in dæde when they sawe our boates comming to the shoreward, they began to runne away, with a great clamour and outerie, and so did manye others also which lay secretly hidden amongst certeine bushes there, which policie they vsed to traine our men the rather to lande, for when ours were disimbarked and landed, they then returned and furiously set vpon them, shooting their darts, and vsing their other weapons in such sort, as they inforced our men to retire to their boates and imbarke themselves, and that in hast, taking with them Fernan Veloso, which being done, the Negroes retourned to theyr towne, hauing hurt the Captaine generall & thre others, who after ward remaining in that road foure dayes, could not see any moe of those people, and therefore could not vse any reueinge, for the damage they had done them.

¶ How the Captaine generall doubled the Cape of Buena esperansa, and what hapned vntill they passed the Riuer called El Ryo del Infante. Cap. 3.



**H**E Flæte hauing taken in fresh water and flesh which they needed, the Generall and the rest then departed thence vpon the Thursday being the sixteenth daye of November, in the forenoone of the same daye, making their waye into the Sea, with a South south west winde, and vpon the Saturday then next following in the euening, he came within sight of the Cape of Buena esperansa, and for that the winde was contraraye, as being then Southwest, and the Cape lyeng Northeast Southeast, he made his retourne into the Sea warde, whilest

whilst the daye did indure, and when the night came, hee  
cast about towards the shore, and so in that order he sayled  
vntill the Wednesday following, which was the twentieth  
day of November in which time he doubled the Cape: And  
going along the Coast with a fore winde, he passed with  
great pleasure of sundry pastimes, and in sounding of the  
trumpets in all their ships, chiefly hauing their whole con-  
fidence in God, by whose diuine furtherance, they hoped to  
finde out, and attaine to that which they sought for: So  
passing in this sort along that Coast, they saue vpon the  
land great store of Cattell, whereof some were large, some  
small, but all of them were growen and fat: Howbeit ther  
appeared to them no Townes within this lande, by reason  
that along those Coasts ther are none situated: but further  
within the same, there be Townes and Villages inhabited,  
the houses whereof are all of earth couered with strawe.  
The people are of colour somewhat blacke, and be apparat-  
led as those of the Countrey of Sancta Helena, speaking  
the selfe same language, and vsing the selfe same sorte of  
darts, with some other weapons also for their defence, and  
anoyauce of their enimie. This Countrey is verie plea-  
saunt with Trees and Waters, and loyning to this Cape  
on the South side, there is a great Harbour, which reach-  
eth into the Lande sixe leagues, and at the entering it  
containeth well as much more. The Cape of Buena espe-  
rancia being thus doubled, the Captaine Generall forth-  
with vpon the Sundaye after, which was Saint Katherins  
day, came to the Watering of Saynt Blaze, which is three  
score leagues beyonde the Cape, being a verie great Baye,  
and passing good for all Windes, except onely the North  
winde. The people heere are somewhat blacke of cou-  
lour, they couer themselves with skinnies, they fight  
with Dartes of woode tolsted or hardened in the fire,  
and vse for Swordes, Hornes and Bones of Beastes,  
and also they vse Stones to defende themselves agaynst  
theyr Enimies. In this Lande bee manye Ele-  
phauntes and great, also Oren manye both large of  
 stature,

The vva-  
tering of  
S. Blaze



## The conquest

Sea vvolfes  
most fierce  
& terrible  
beasts

stature, and very fat, whereof some haue no hoznes: and  
vpon the fattest and fairest of the same, the people do vse to  
ride, sadling them with pannells stuffed with the strawe of  
Rye, as the manner is in Spayne, and vpon the same they  
put a certaine frame of wode, and so vse it as a saddle to  
ride vpon, putting through the noles of such of them as  
they will sell, a peece of wode, of that kinde whereof they  
make their arrowes. In this Harbour thre Crossebow shot  
from the shore, withyn the Sea, lieth a Rocke, in the which  
there be many Sea Moulfes, which are as large in bignes  
as great Beares, they be terrible, hauing great and long  
teeth, also so wilde and fierce, that they do forcible set vpon  
men: their skinned be so hard that no speare can pearce the  
same, albeit it be forced vpon it with great strength and va-  
lure: they are like vnto Lions, and their little ones crye  
like young Goates, there be so many of them in y<sup>e</sup> Rocke,  
that when our men went thether of pleasure one day, they  
saw of them at that instant, the number of thre thousand  
little and great. In this Rocke also be many Stares, which  
are as great as Duckes, but they doe not flye, by reason  
they haue no feathers in their wings, and they braye lyke  
vnto an Ass. The Captaine Generall being come to this  
Port or Baye, and lieng at Anker there, caused the shippes  
which carried their victuals, to be discharged thereof, and  
bestowed the same in the others, commaunding those Wes-  
sells to be then burned, as it was ordained and commaun-  
ded by the King in that behalfe. In doing whereof, & other  
things also which were necessarye and needfull to be looked  
vnto, and foresene, for their moze safetie in the rest of their  
voyage, they remained ten dayes in that place, where, vpon  
the Friday next after the Captaine generall and the rest had  
arriued, ther appeared vnto them, about the number of foure  
score and ten men of that Countrey, some along vpon the  
landes, and some vpon the top of their Mountaines, which  
when the Generall sawe, he and other the Captaines went  
to the shore ward, and all the company of the shippes went  
armed in their boates, carrieng ordinaunce w<sup>th</sup> them, as  
fearing

fearing the lyke chaunce y<sup>e</sup> happened to them in the Ilande of Sancta Helena, the Boates then drawing nere to the shoze, the Generall threwe on lande little belles, which the Negroes toke vp, and some of them came so nere vnto him, that he gaue them the bells into their owne handes, whereat he wonderfully meruailed, for that Bartholome Dias had informed befoze, that when he was there, they did run away, and wold not be allured to come so nere view. The Generall therfoze finding & perceiuing contrary to his expectation, the gentlenesse of those blacke people, he then leapt out on lande with his men, making erchaunge of certayne red night caps with the Negroes for Bracelets of Iuoy which they had, and so for that time departed. The Saterday next after came to the number of two hundreth blacke men: and moze, some little, some great, bringing with them twelue Oxen and foure sheepe, and as our men went on shoze, they began to play vpon foure flutes accordingly with foure sundry voyces, the Musicke whereof sounded very well, which the Generall hearing, commaunded the trumpets to sound, and so they daunced with our men. In this pastime and feasting, and in buying their Oxen and sheepe, that daye passed ouer, and in the selfe same sort, vpon the Sunday following, sundry of the same, and many moe with them as well men as women, came againe bringing with them many kine, and hauing solde one Ox, our men saw certayne little Negroes, which were hidden in certayne bushes, who had with them the weapons of the greater sort of men: wherein our men coniectured, that some treason was ment to them, and therfoze the Generall commaunded our people to retire to another place, which was of moze securitie, and those blacke men went all along the shoze directlye against our boates, vntill they came to the place where ours disimbarked themselves, and went vppon the lande in armour. The Negroes then ioyned themselves as though they intended to fight, which the Generall perceiving, and not willyng to doe them anye harme, did then retyze, imbarcking himselfe, and for to feare them, commaunded



## The Conquest

The little  
Nigroes  
made  
more a-  
feard then  
hurt

ded two brasse peeces of Ordnance to be shot off, where  
at they were amazed, and ranne away without any order,  
leaving their weapons behinde them. After this, the Cap-  
taine generall, caused to be carried on the shore, a certaine  
marke or Piller, with the King of Portugales Armes, and  
a Crosse, which being there set and erected, the Nigroes pul-  
led downe the same our men yet being there. These dayes  
thus passed ouer, the Captaine generall with the rest of the  
Fleete departed thence towards the Riuer called, Ryo del  
infante, vpon the Friday being the eight day of Nouember,  
which was the feast daye of the conception of our Lady,  
and in sailing forward on their voyage, ther arose so great  
a storme with a forewinde, vpon the daye of Saint Luke,  
that our whole Fleete did runne with there small sayles,  
and that also verie low. In this course they lost the com-  
pany of Nicholas Coello, howbeit the next night after they  
all met, and ioyned together againe. Now hauing past and  
sailed through this great storm, or rather torment of wind,  
which then was ceased, the Captaine Generall, vpon the  
sixteenth daye of December did discover lande, which were  
certaine small Rockes, being distaunt from the Harbour of  
Saint Blaze threescore leagues, and fise leagues also from  
the other part of the Rocke called De la cruze, where Bar-  
tholome Dyas did erect his last marke: from which place  
to the Riuer Del Infante are fiftene leagues. This Coun-  
trei is very pleasant and sightly in viewe, and in the same  
is great store of Cattell, and the further our Fleete sayled  
on that Coast, the better and higher the Trees were, all  
which things our men might well perceiue and discerne, by  
reason they went so nere the shore with their ships. And  
vpon the Saturday they past hard by, and within sight of the  
Rocke De la cruze, and so that they were then come so far  
forward as the Riuer Del infante, they were loath to passe  
the same, and thereof taking counsell all the next night,  
they went somewhat wide from the Coast, with a fore-  
winde, untill Euen-song time, and then the Winde came  
to the East, which was right against them, wherefore the  
Captaine

Captaine generall made to Seawarde, going in such sort, as sometime he kept the Sea, and sometime Droue towards the lande, untill the Tuesday being the twentieth of December, at the setting of the Sunne, the winde then coming to the West, which was a soze winde, and whether to attayne to haue knowledge of the Lande they consulted all that night, which were best to doe. The next daye at tenne of the Clocke in the fore none, they came to the Rocke aforesayde, which is three score leagues a stearne the place, wherevnto they minded to goe.

This Rocke, is the cause of the great Currents that are there, and the selfe same daye the Fleete through passed the same Course, with a great soze winde, which had also indured them three or foure dayes, and wherewith they ranne through those Currents, which greatlye they feared, and were in doubt to haue done. These daungerous Currents, thus safelye and happelye passed without losse or damage, they all were very glad and ioyfull, that they good Fortune was to haue passed the same in manner as Bartholome Dyas befoze that time had accordinglye done. Wherefoze the Captaine generall, being animated and encouraged with this his great good lucke and Fortune, and after thanks giuen to God for the same, did then saye, that hee verelye beleued, that it was Gods good will and pleasure that the Indias should be founde.

They safelye passed the daungerous currents

¶ How the Captaine generall came to the Lande, called, La terra de la buena gente, and after went to the Riuer, called, Ryo de las buenas senales: how hee brought theyr shippes on grounde, and of the great sicknesse our people had after they arriued there. Chap. 4.



## The Conquest



Thus following their voyage, they perceiued that vpon Christmas daye, they had disco- uered along the Coast, three score and tenne leagues to the Eastward, which was the waye he carryed with him in his Register, and wherein the Indias are: And heere the Flēte went along vpon the Sea, without taking land, so farre, that they began to want, and haue lacke of water for to drinke, and were inforced to dresse their meate with salt water, so that no man of that Flēte had then allowance of water to drinke, more then one pinte a day. How- beit vpon the Friday being the eleuenth day of January, in the yeare of our Lord God. 1498. drawing nere the lande, they went out in their boates along the Coast to take view thereof, and so passing by the same, they saw many Nigroes with a great company of women, all of them of great stature, which went along the Sea side, and when the Captain generall saw and perceiued, that they showed themselues to be a people, flexible to ciuilitie, and of a quiet dispositi- on, hee commaunded one of our men called Martin Alon- so, who coulde speake manye languages of the Nigroes, and one other with him, to leape out on Lande, and to goe to them, which immediatly those two persons did: and at theyr comming to the same blacke People, they were of them verye well receyued, and especiallye of the chiefe person or Gouernour of the same, to whome, our Generall viewing his and theyr manner of courtesie, forthwith sent a Jacket, a payre of Hose, and a Cappe, being all redde, and a Bracelet of Copper, of which things he was verye glad, and rendered great thanks to the Generall for the same, saing: that with a verye good will, hee shoulde haue of gifte, anye thing he would de- sire or had neede off, that was to be had in his Countrey. All which, Martin Alonso, vnderstanding theyr lan- guage tolde to the Generall, who was verye ioyfull that  
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sent by  
Generall  
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## *of the East India.*

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by his interpretation, those people and ours might of each other haue vnderstanding, giuing also at that instant license to y<sup>e</sup> same Alonso & one moe of our men to goe with those people for one night to their Towne, at the request of the same gouernour, who verie earnestly required the same. The gouernour then apparelled himselfe with those Garments which the Generall gaue him, and with great pleasure gaue commaundement to many of his chiefe men to goe before and receiue him when he came to their towne: The people as they went viewed and beheld with greate pleasure and admiration those vestures which our General had giuen him, clapping their hands for ioy thereof, which manner of glad some reioysing, they vsed three or foure times, before they came to their towne: And after their entrance therein, they went round about the same, to the end all the people and inhabitants thereof, might see and behold those giuen garments and straunge arraie: Which being done, the gouernour entered into his house where he commaunded Alonso and his companion to be well lodged, and gaue to them for their supper a Pen euen such as ours bee, and Pap made of Mylyo, which is a kinde of graine of a yeolow coulour, whereof also they make bread: This night repaired many Nigroes to their lodging to see them: And the next daie after the gouernour sent them to their ships with certaine Nigroes of his loden with hens, for the Captaine Generall, who rendered thanks for the same, and required by his interpyetour, those Nigroes, to saie vnto their Gouernour, that he now saw and perceiued him to be a noble man, or king of that countrie, & forasmuch as the Generall, and the rest of our men in those five daies wherein they had houered vpon and viewed that Coast had no manner damage done or offered them: and saw both many quiet and gentle people there, & also many noble men, he gaue to this land an apt name, calling it, The Land of good people, in the Towne where Martyn Alonso was, they houses bee made all of strawe, and verie well furnished within: The owmen be moze in number, then the men:

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## The Conquest

for in the companie of fortie women there are no more but  
twentie men: They carrie with them long bowes with ar-  
rowes and darts of yron, and vpon their armes and legges  
they weare many bracelets of Copper, and some peeces of  
them in their haire. Also they carrie daggers, the hafts or  
handles of Pewter, and the sheathes of Iron, so that it is  
manifest, that they haue in that Countrey plentie of copper  
and tinne: Moreover they haue great store of Salt, which  
they make of Salt water, carrieng the same from the Sea  
side in gourds, and putting it into certeine Caves where  
they make the Salt: These kinde of people were so gladd  
of the linnen that our men carried with them, and brought  
with them thether, that they gaue for one shirt much Cop-  
per. They also were so quiet amongst our men, that they  
brought them water to their boates from a riner which  
was two Crosbowe shotte from the place where our men  
tooke in the same, which riner they call Ryo de Cobio:  
From this place our Fleete departed the fiftenth daye  
of Januarie, and going vnder saile, did discover land of an  
other countrey which lyeth very lowe, wherein were trees  
verie high and thicke, and so proceeding forward they disco-  
uered or found a riner which was verie open at the ente-  
ring of the same: And for that the Generall thought it ne-  
cessarie to reknowlege or haue notice of that Countrey, &  
there to learne whether they might heare anye newes or  
intelligence of the Indias, hee commaunded to come to an  
Anko, which was vpon the Thursday, being seauen daies  
before the end of Januarie, and the same night he with his  
brother Nicholas Coello entered the riner, and at the daw-  
ning of the daye, did well perceiue the lande to be lowe  
and conered with water, hauing trees of great height, and  
thicke loaden with sundrie sortes of fruites: Our men then  
beholding the land, which was verie pleasaunt, they sawe  
also certeine boates, at that present comming towarde  
them, with men in the same, whereof the Generall was ve-  
ry glad, supposing vpon sight of those people and view of  
their countrey, in that manner, which argued they had some  
know

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land disco-  
uered of  
curtious  
Moors

knowledge and experience of the Sea, that therefore they were not farre of from the Indias, or at leastwise could not then goe far, but they should heare newes of the same: when the people with their boates came nere to our flecte, our men perceined they were all blacke people, of good stature, howbeit all naked, sauing their priuie members, which wer couered, with little pèces of linnen made of Womebast or Cotton, they came nere and entered into our ships without any feare, and in such sorte vled themselues towarde our men, as though they had ben of long acquaintance and familiaritie with them: They were very well receiued of our people of the flecte, the Captaine Generall commanded the same, and also that there shuld be giuen vnto them certeine little Bels & other things, & he talked with them by signes, for they did not vnderstand any of Martin Alonso his languages, nor any other interpretour y our men the had: After this their good interteinment they departed, and as it seemed well liking of the same, they and many others with them afterward returned in their boates to our ships, bringing vnto them such victuals as their countrie yeeldeth: They in appearance shewed themselues verie well contented with our men, & as they came by water, so also did many others of those people repaire thether by land, & amongst them women of indifferent good beautie, especially y young maides, which goe after the same sort, that the men doe: They haue in their lips three holes, and in euery hole a pèce of tinne, which they esteeme as a thing very gallant and gaye: They tooke with them certeine of our men to make merrie at a countrie towne there nere hand, and where they set water for our ships. And after the three daies space that our Generall was in that riuer, there came of curtesie two noble men of that countrie to visit him in their boates, whose apparell was none other, then of the rest, sauing the pèces of linnen wherewith they couered their members, were farre greater, then those the common sorte vled, and one of them ware vpon his head a tucke or kerchiefe wrought with silke, and the other had a night cap of græne Satten.

The

The curtesie & apparell of the noble men of this Countrie,



## The Conquest

The Captaine Generall seeing those men somewhat addicted to cleanness was verie glad thereof, receiued them in curteous manner, and commaunded to giue them meate, and mozeouer he gaue them apparell and certeine other things, but it appeared by their countinaunces they smalle of nothing at all esteemed thereof: Wholbeit while they remained in our Shippes, the Generall perceiued by tokens and signes which a young man that came with them then shewed, that their countrie was farre of thence, and that they had scene as great ships as ours were, whereof he greatly reioysed, and all our people in like manner as then verely hoping and thereby coniecturing, that the Indias were nere to that place: which their hope and coniecture, was also farre the moze augmented and confirmed, for that after those noble men were gone to shore, they sent to the Flēete, certeine linnen cloth to sell, which was made of Cotten, vpon which also were certeine marks of Dkar, in respect of which good newes, and intelligence hēre found, and likely to ensue, the Captaine Generall gaue to this riuer a name, calling it, The Riuer of the good tokens or marks, and caused there a marke to be erected, calling the same San Raphael, according with the name of the shippe wherein hēe was, and went that voyage. And forasmuch as he perceiued by the signes of the young man, that those noble men inhabited a Countrie farre thence, and that they had scene shippes as greate as ours, hēe thereby and vpon other coniectures gathered, that their Countrie was nere to the Indias, and so consequently that the Indias was farre of from that riuer where our ships then lay: wherefore consulting hēreof, it was by him and the other Captaines then determined vpon, that all the shippes should be brought on ground, which determination was executed accordinglye, & the same ships repaired, dreed, and trimmed in all points needfull and necessarie: In doing whereof they spent and passed ouer two and thirtie daies, in which time our men sustained and passed ouer great troubles and tormentes of minde, by occasion of a sicknesse there happened amongst them,

This sickness  
is called the  
Scurfe

them, which was thought to growe by meanes of the aire of that countrie, for that the hands and feete of so many of them, and also their gums in such sorte did swell, that they could not eate, and the same so rotted, that the stinke which came out of their mouthes was so great and pestiferous, that none could abide the savour thereof, with this pestilent infection & sickness our men were greatly discomfited, & many of them dyed thereof, which also put the rest of the companie in greate feare and perplexitie of minde: Pea, and further would haue increased and aggravated their griefes of bodie and sorrowes of minde, were it not that one De Gama a man of good nature and condition had taken speciall care and bled greate dilligence, for the recouerye of their healths, and putting them in comfort: who continually visited the sicke, and liberally departed vnto them such wholesome and medicinable things, as for his owne bodie hee had provided, and carried with him, thzough whose good counsell ginen, great pains taken, and franke distribution of that he had, many of our men were recouerd, which would otherwise haue died, and all the rest thereby were greatly recomfited.

¶ How the Captaine Generall with all his Fleete, came to the Iland of Monsambicke. Chap. 5.

**T**he Fleet being furnished and provided of all things necessarie, the Captaine Generall then mindfull of his voyage, departed thence, vpon the Saturday, being the 24. day of Februarie, and the same day, and all the night following, for that he was incalmed and to auoide the shore, made way into the sea: and vpon Sunday by Euensong time, our men discried three Ilands a Seaboard, all of them being but little or small, they were distant one from another foure leagues: Two of them were replenished with great woods, & the third was plaine, to arrive to these Ilands the Generall was not willing, for

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## The Conquest

that he sawe or coniectured no cause to occasion the same, & therefore he still kept the sea, staieng & comming to an ankoꝝ allwaies as the night appoched, which manner of course & order he vsed and continued the space of sixe daies: And vpon the thursday being the first day of March towards euening, our men came within sight of foure Ilands, whereof two were nere the shore, and the other two a Seaboꝝd, & soꝝ that they would not that night fall with them, they still kept the Sea, minding to passe betwene them, as in dede they did: Wherevpon the Captaine Generall determined & commaunded that Nicholas Coello, by reason his ship was lesse then the others, shuld go first, & so going vpon the friday within a certein harbour, which was betwene y<sup>e</sup> maine land & one of the Ilands, the said Nicholas missed y<sup>e</sup> channell, and ranne on ground, which daunger when our other ships sawe comming after, they did cast then about, & went backe, and as they were returned, they perceiued comming out of that Iland, seauen or eight little boates vnder saile, beinge distant from Nicholas Coello a good league: At sight of those boates comming towards them, Nicholas Coello and those which were with him tooke great pleasure, & soꝝ loye gaue a great crye, and at their repaire to them Coello and they went to the General and saluted him, to whom the same Coello sayd: How say you sir, heere is an other kinde of people: wherevnto the Generall answered, that hee was very glad of that good Fortune, and therewith commaunded to let them go a Seaboꝝd with their boates, soꝝ that his meaning was to beare with them to that Ilande from whence they came, and there to come to an Ankoꝝ, of purpose to vnderstand what land that was, & whether amongst those people, he might heare or haue anye newes or certeine intelligence of the Indias: yet notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> generals cōmandement, they in their boats folloved our ships, allwaies making signes and calling to our men, therein to stay and farrie soꝝ them, wherefoꝝe the Captaine Generall, with the other Captaines came to an Ankoꝝ, and so they in their boates appoched nere, and came to our Flēte: And then

then by view of their persons it appeared they were men of a good stature and somewhat blacke. They were apparelled in linnen cloth of Cotton, welked with sundry colours, some girdled vnto their knees, and others carried the same vpon their shoulders as cloaks, and vpon their heads they weare a certaine kinde of tucks or kerchiefe somewhat wrought with silke and gold thrid. They haue swords and daggers as the Mozes doe vse them, in their boates they brought with them their instruments called Sagbuts. These men being thus come to our ships, they forthwith came aboard the same with great opinion of assurance, even as though they had knowne our men a long time, and immediatly began to be conuersant, and very familiar with them, vsing their speaches which they vttered in the language of Algaruia, and would not be knowne they were Mozes: The Generall commaunded to giue them meate, & they did both eate and drinke with a good will, of whatsoeuer was giuen them: And being asked at commaundement of the General by one Fernan Aluares (who could speake y<sup>e</sup> language) what land that was, they answered that it appertained to a great king which was before, & how that Island was called Mō- sambicke, and the towne there full of Merchantes, which haue trafficke with the Mozes of the Indias, who bring thether siluer, linnen cloth, pepper, ginger, siluer ringes, many pearles, and rubie stones, and that out of another Countrey, which remained behinde, they doe bring them golde: Declaring further that if our men would enter into the Harbour there, they would bring them thether, and they should perceiue and see the truth, and more at large, touching those thinges they then gaue information of: The Generall hearing this, entered into counsell with the other Captaines, debating the matter thereof, and argued whether it were good to enter the Harbour, and see if those things were of truth, which those Mozes had imparted to them, and also there to take some Pilottes to carrie them further, since they were nowe destitute of such: Vpon which consultation, it was there determined,

C.ii.

that

The Island  
of Monsā  
bick, with  
the towne  
of Mer-  
chandise.



## The Conquest

that Nicholas Coello shuld first make an assay & pꝛoofe for enterance and sounding of the barre, by reason his ship was the least of the Fléete: which accordingly he forthwith did. And so going to enter he went and touched the point of the Island, and therewith brake his helme, howbeit through God his goodnesse, he perished not there although he was in great daunger and hazard thereof, for as he went vpon the point vnwares, so with quicke spée and good fortune he got of the same: Neuerthelesse he perceiued and found y<sup>e</sup> the barre was good to enter, and therfore he came to an anchor, two crosbow shot from the towne scituated in that Island, which is in fifténe degrees towards y<sup>e</sup> South, it hath a very good harbour, and also great plentie of the victuals of that countrie, the houses of that towne be made of strawe, and the dwellers therein are Moores, which trade to Sofala in great ships, that haue no decks nor nailes, but are sewed with Cayro, and their sailes are of mats made of the leafe of a palme tree: some of them doe carrie with them compasses of Ceane by which they doe gouerne, & they be square, they haue also Deacards: with these Moores, the Moores of Indias haue trafficke, and with those from the red sea, by reason of the golde they haue there.

Cayro is  
the caske  
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in y<sup>e</sup> India  
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When they sawe our men, they supposed them to bee Turks, by reason of the knowledge they had of the Turks countrie, through intelligence of the Moores which dwell in the red sea, they which were first in our ships went & tolde their Xequé (for so they call him alwaies that is gouernour of the towne) which was there for the king of Quiloa, vnder whose obeisance this Island was.

¶ How the Captaine Generall entered into the harbour of Monsambicke, and how the gouernour there, came to visit him at his ships, making peace with him, and gaue him two Pilottes to carry him to Calicut, verely supposing our people to be Turkes.

Chap. 6.



The Xequé or Gouverneur hauing knowledge of our comming, and that Nicholas Coello was come to an Anker in the Harbour, he verely beleued that they were Turkes or Moors of some other place, and therfore forthwith he came and visited him in his ships, accompanied with many apparelled in silke, whome Nicholas Coello receiued with great courtesie: but sozasmuch as he nor any of his ship could speake their language, the Gouverneur tarried not long, howbeit Coello vnderstoode very well, that the Gouverneur deemed them to be Moors, and therfore he gaue him a red Cappe, whereof he made no accompt, he gaue him also certaine blacke beades, which he carried away in his handes, both which were giuen and taken for token of assurance betwene them: and when he should depart from our ship, he required by signes of Nicholas Coello to haue his boat to carrie him to lande, who gladly graunted the same, and sent therewith certaine of our men, which the Gouverneur at his returne to lande, carried with him to his house, feasting and banquetting them with Dates and other things, and sent by them to Nicholas Coello: a pot of Dates preserued, wherewith he feasted the Captaine Generall and his brother, after they had entered the Harbour.

The Gouverneur now perceiuing the rest of our shippes arriued in the Harbour, immediately sent to visite them, beleuing they were Turkes, and presented them with many pleasant & delicate meates, demanding also license to come and visite them himselfe. The Captaine generall returned for presents to him againe, certaine red hats, short golwens, corall, basons of brasle, little halwkes bells, and many other things, all which (as the messenger reported, that carryed the same) he nothing esteemed, as king for what purpose those things were good, and demanding why the Captaine sent him not Scarlet, as the thing which he chiefly desired. Notwithstanding he came and visited the Captaine Generall who hauing knowledge of his comming, commaunded the

Our men  
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## The conquest

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ships to put out their flagges, and to toll the same. Likewise he ordered, that all our sicke and diseased men, shoulde be hid and not come in sight, and that to his shippe shoulde be sent from the rest of the shippes, all those that were not sicke, whom he caused secretly to be put in armour, of purpose to be in a readines if the Mores offered anye force, or sought to betraye them. This preparation made, the Governour came accompanied with manie men, all very well apparelled in silke, bringing with them many trumpets of Tuoze, and also other instruments, still plaieng vpon the same: he was a man of a good stature and leane, he brought vpon him as it were a shirt of linnen cloath, which came downe to his heeles, and vpon the same, the lyke of veluet of Meca, hauing vpon his head a cappe of silke of many colours, and trimmed with golde, at his girdle, he ware a sword and dagger, and vpon his fete shoes of silke. The Captaine generall receiued him at the entrance of the ship, carrieng him from thence, in that part of the ship, where the same was couered ouer and trimmed in the best manner it might then be, and many of his people with him, the rest remaining that came with him in their beates. The Governour thus being receined into the ship, the Generall desired him to take no offence in that he sent to him no Scarlet, since in truth he brought none with him: onely he declared that he had in his ships, but such Merchandise, as he would giue and bestow for victuals, when his men should want the same: and that he went in this order, only of intent to find out & discover the Indias, by comandement of a great & mightie King whose seruant he was. All which things the Generall tolde him by the mouth of Fernan Martin, who was the Interpreter betwene them: and then commaunded to giue them such banquetting meates, and wine as were carried in the shippe, whereof he did both eate and drinke verie well, and so in lyke manner did the other, who came with him, all which were likewise feasted. And as the Governour remayned after this, a very friend to the Generall, so also did his people make much, and ex-  
tende

sende great friendship to our men. He asked of our Generall, whether they came from the Turkes Countrey, for that as he had heard saye, the people of the same are white as ours were, requesting also to have a sight of their Countrey bowes, and of the bowes of theyr Lawes: Whereunto our Generall answered, that hee and his Companie were not of the Turkes Countrey, but that they were of a great Kingdome, which confined vppon the same, and as touching theyr bowes and weaponnes, hee shoulde with verve good will see them: But as for the Bowes of theyr Lawes, they had none there with them, for to carrie the same, were to no purpose, since vppon the Sea, they needed not the vse thereof. Then were brought befoze him certaine Crossebowes, which also in his presence were bent and shot off, whereat hee greatly meruayled. They also produced to sight and viewe of him certaine harnesses or armour, whereat he also meruailed much.

By occasion of this meeting and feasting, the Captaine Generall had notice and intellygence, that from thence to Calycut were nine hundred leagues, and that it was verve needefull and necessarye for him to take a Pilot of this Countrey, to conduct him and his Companie, by reason they shoulde finde manye shoells in theyr Course thether: and also that along the Coast there are manye Cities: Whereouer hee vnderstode then, that Presbiter Ioan was farre from thence within the Countrey. Nowe since it was so expedient to haue a Pilot, the Generall then requested to haue two such of the Gouvernour, who graunted and made promise of the same, vppon condition that our men shoulde well vse and content them: Of these Pilots so promised, our men were glad, for that if one of them shoulde happe to dye, the other yet might remayne and serue theyr purpose, and for that consideration, our Generall required a couple. After this time, the Gouvernour once more came to visit the General, bringing with him both the Pilottes he had made promise of,  
to



## The conquest

to each of which was giuen thirtie Crownes and a coate, euery Crowne worth in money, five shillings, with this condition, and from that day forward, that when the one of them would goe to shore, the other should remaine in ship, for that our men would alwaies haue one of them on ship-board, whilst they remained in Harbour.

How the Gouvernour of Monsambicke, vnderstanding that our Fleete was neither of the Turkes nor yet Moores, would haue taken and killed them, and how the Captaine generall vnderstood thereof; and what further than followed. **Cap. 7.**



These meetings and speeches thus had, for assurance of friendship betweene them, & the concourse of them being ended, and the Gouvernour departed, yet then immediately after appeared, that those Moores hauing had such company and long talke with our

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wing that  
we were  
Christians

men had gathered and come to knowledge that they were Christians, whereupon all former good will and friendship of the Moores, was now conuerted into wrath and furie, for they practised meanes to kill our men, and so to take the ships. The Gouvernour had thereof consulted and made provision, for execution of their mischeuous enterprise, which had bene likely to haue taken place, and sorted to a sorrowfull hap and euent, had not the Almighty of his diuine goodness, moued the heart of one of the Moores, which was receiued for Pilot to discover the same to the Captaine generall, who fearing least those Infidells should sodainlye endanger him and his, for that they were manie in number, and with him were but a small companye, did therefore determine to remaine no longer in that harbour. And so vpon the Saturday, being the tenth daye of March, & seuen dayes after his arrivall there, he departed thence, and went with his ships into the Sea, and came to an Ankoor harde by an Islande

Islande in the same, which was one league from that of  
Monsambicke, and this was done, to purpose, that vppon  
Sunday, they would heare Masse on lande, confesse them-  
selues, and receiue the Sacrament, which since their com-  
ming from Lixborne they had not done. After our shippes  
wer thus at an Anker, the Captain general then perceiuing  
the same to be in place of assurance so as the Mozes should  
not burne them, (whereof befoze he was greatly afrayde)  
which now by their remoue was pzeuented and put out of  
doubt, he then determined to retourne to Monsambicke in  
his boate, to demanda the other Pilot that remayned on  
lande at their comming thence: and so leauing his brother  
with the flecte in order and readinesse to come and succour  
him, if he should see him in daunger, he departed towarde  
Monsambicke carrieng with him Nicholas Coello in his  
boate and the other Pilot Moze. Going in this sort, they  
saw how there came bearing right with his boate, fire  
boates with many armed Mozes, hauing long bowes & ar-  
rowes, and also shieldes and speares, who when they sawe  
our men, beganne then to call vnto them, willing them to  
come to the harbour of their Towne. The Pilot Moze  
tolde the Generall what they meant by their signes and  
tokens they made, and gaue him counsell to retourne the-  
ther, for that otherwise the Gouvernour woulde not deliuer  
the other Pilot which remained on the shore, at which his  
speech, the General was very angry, supposing he gaue that  
counsell, to the ende at their comming nere the shore, he  
might escape and runne away, and therefore commaunded  
him to prison, and caused forthwith to shote at theyr boats  
with their Ordnance, which shot when Paulo de la Ga-  
ma heard, and beleuing it had bene some further matter of  
daungers to the General, then the cause thereof was indeed,  
he immediately came forwarde with the ship called Berrio  
vnder saile, which when the Nigroes perceiued, they fled, &  
made away with great hast, and so fast that the Captaine ge-  
nerall could not ouertake them, & therfore he returned with  
his brother to the other ships where they lay at Anko.

F.

The



## The Conquest

The next day the Generall, with all his men went on land, heard Masse, and receiued the Sacrament very deuoutlye, being the night befoze confessed: which being done, they all went aboard their ships, and made sayle the same day. The Generall perceiuing no hope to remaine for recouerie of the other Pilot, which was on shoze in Monsambicke, gaue then commaundement to release him that was in the ship committed to prison, (as befoze you haue heard, whome they carried with the on their voyage. This Pilot minded to be reuenged vpon y<sup>e</sup> Generall, in stomacke of his imprisonment, determined to cary the to y<sup>e</sup> Iland Quiloa, which was peopled all with Mozes, and as it seemed, meant to in- forme the King of that place, that our shippes were of the Christians, of purpose thereby to occasion him to kill and destroy them all: and therefore subtilly to shaddowe his wicked intent, he willed and perswaded the Captaine generall, not to trouble himselfe with the want of the other Pilot, so that he would carrie him to a great Iland, which was from thence one hundzeth leagues, and inhabited as it were the one halfe by the Mozes, and the other by Christians, which alwaies were at wars the one with the other, from whence also he might furnish himselfe with Pilots to cary him to Calycut: But as the Captaine generall had good liking of those speaches, so yet gaue he no great credite to the man, neuerthelesse he did promise him great giftes, if he did carrie him to that Countrey: and so went forward on his voyage with a small winde. The Tuesday after, being within sight of lande from whence he departed, hee was incalmed, which did indure Tuesday and Wednesday, the next night after with an Easterly wind being but smal, he made way, and went into the Sea, and vpon Thursday in the morning, founde himselfe and all the flete, foure leagues backe behinde Monsambicke, & so going vntill the Evening the same day, came then to an Anker hard to that Iland, where the Sunday next following he heard Masse. The winde thus being contrary to his purpose of nauigation, he therefore remained in that place eight daies to wait

The other  
Moore Pi-  
lot in re-  
uege prac-  
tise threa-  
tens against  
the flete

for such gale thereof as would serue to put him forward on his iourney : In which time repaired to our ships a white Moore which was a Minister of the Mozes of Monsambicke, who coming on board the ship of the Generall, declared that the Gouvernour of the same Towne greatlye did repent him of the breach of peace & friendship he had made with him, & that he would gladly renew the same againe & confirme it, & so remaine a friend. To whom the Generall returned answer by that messenger to this effect, that he would make no peace with the Gouvernour, neither would he be his friend, untill such time as he did send to him his Pilot whom he had hired and payed, with this answer, the Minister departed, and neuer came againe. The Captaine generall thus staid still there, and expecting the winde, there came to him after the Minister was gone, a certaine Moore, who brought his Sonne with him being a boye, and asked the Generall whether he would carrie them in his ships with him to the Citie of Mylynde, which he should finde in the course he shoulde keepe towards Calycut : Declaring that he would gladly goe with him, and returne to his Countrey which was nere to Meca, from whence he came as a Pilot, in a ship to Monsambicke, and therewith aduertised the Generall, not to tarry vpon any answer, from the Gouvernour, who he was assured would make no peace with him, for that he was a Christian. The Captaine was verie gladde of the coming of this Moore, for by him hee deemed, to gather sufficient matter of information and intellygence of the Strayghtes of the Redde Sea, and also of the Townes that lye and be scituated along the Coast, by the which he must sayle to Mylynde, and therefore he commaunded to receiue the same Moore and his Sonne into his Shippe, and by reason it was then somewhat late, and that they had no store of water, the Generall with the other Captaines determined to enter into the Harbour of Monsambicke, to take in there so much as they needed, appointing also there shoulde be great watch, for

A white  
Moore re-  
paireth to  
our ships.



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prevention of the Mozes, least that they should by anye deuice set on fire the ships. Upon this determination and being prepared accordingly, they proceeded and entered the harbour on thursday, and when the night was come, they launched out their boates to go with them for water, for the Pilot of Monsambicke informed the Generall, that it was within the firme lande, offering to bring him to the same. Whereupon taking the Pilot with him, he departed about midnight to goe thither, hauing Nicholas Coello in his company, and leauing Paulo de la gama in charge of the ships. Being come to the place where the Pilot informed the water to be, it could not so be found, for he no doubt, went more to make escape and runne awaye, then to perforce what before he promised, but whether that he was amazed with imagination of escape, and so could not finde it, or that of mallice (since he could not run away) he would not finde it, he caused them to spend that night without attaining the purpose of their repaire thither, wherefore the day light appearing, and seeing they could not finde the water, the Generall would remaine no longer, hauing but a small company of men with him ther, and fearing least the Mozes would set vpon him, did therefore determine to goe to his ships, of purpose to fetch more men, and so if need were to fight with his enemies, knowing also he should farre better finde the water by day then by night. So hauing bene at his ships, and there furnished his boates with more force of men and armour, he returned to shore ward againe, carrieng with him the Pilot of Monsambicke, and hauing also Nicholas Coello in his companye as before to take in water. And when they drew neere to the same, the Pilot seeing that he by no meane or deuice coulde runne awaye, did then forthwith shew them the water, which was harde by the shore side, where also then were in sight the number of twentie Mozes skirmishing with their darters, and shewing as though they were appointed there for the purpose and would defende the water against such as would enterprize to fetch or take any thereof.

The manner whereof when our Generall sawe, he caused to be shot off, three gunnes to force them to avoide & giue place in that ground, so as our men might leape forth of their boates and land without resistance: The Moors amazed & afrighted with cracke and shot of 5 Ordnance, ran away and hid themselves in certein bushes, and so our men quietly landed and tooke in fresh water, and a little before 5 sunne set arrived at their ships, where they found the company there disquieted in minde, for that a Nigroe of John Cambrayes, Pilot to Paulo de la Gama, was that day run away to the Moors, wherof when the General understood, he was very sad and sorrowfull for the same, since he was a Christian: Upon the griefe and sorrow hereof he remained there Friday following: Upon the Saturday, being the xiiii daye of March, and the euen of the Annunciation of our Lady, early in the morning appeared vpon the shore side a Moore right over against the flecte, who cried out with a lowde and shrill voice, saying, that if our men would haue water, they should now come for the same thither, where they should finde such as would inforce them to returne. The Captaine Generall perceiuing how small account they made of him, remembryng also the iniury done him in not deliuering the Pilot, and therewith hauing fresh in memorie the losse and running away of the Nigroe, his Pilots seruant, did therevpon grow into some cholar, and so determined to shote of the ordinaunce of his ships, into the towne of his enemies, thereby to be reuenged vpon the same for the iniuries done him, by the inhabitants thereof, and this his determination, he imparted to his Captaines, who hauing liking of the same, yeldded therevnto, and immediately imbarcked themselves in their boates, arming the same with such men as they had, and so comming before the towne, and against the same, there were Moors along the shore, which had made a pale of boards so thicke, that our men could not perceiue who was behinde the same. And betwene that pale or defence and the sea, vpon the shore there was one hundred Moors, armed with Targets,

The  
Moors  
runne a-  
way at the  
cracke of  
the ordi-  
naunce



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shields, darts, bowes, arrows, & slings, who so soone as our boates came within compasse or reach of their slings, began to send forth of the same stones at our men, who immediately answered them again with shot of Ordnance, through meanes whereof they left the waters side, retiring within their impaled defence, which was presently after beaten downe with our ordnance, & the enimies running to their towne, left behinde them two of their companie slaine in that place: the defence thus broken downe, and the same all carried away, the Captaine Generall with his men returned to dinner, in which time it was straunge to see howe the Moozes ran awaie by land from that towne to another, with y<sup>e</sup> feare they had of our men, and from thence they went by water to another place, which was on the other side. After dinner our men went with their Captains to see whether they could take any Moozes, verely beleevung that by taking of some, they shuld for the same haue restitution of Cambraies Nigro that was runne away as yon haue heard before: And moreover they thought to recouer two Indians which the Pilot Mooze tolde the General were captiues in Monsambicke. In this tourney onely Paulo de la Gama did take foure Moozes in a boate. And although ther were other boats wherein many Moozes were, yet could not they be taken, for making hast to the shoare, & attaining the same, they ran away, leaving their boats as a pray to our men, who found in y<sup>e</sup> same much linnen cloth made of cotten, & also books of their lawes of Mahoma, which the Generall commanded to bee safely kept: And albeit he went that day along and before the town in his boate, as other his Captaines did in like manner in theirs, yet could not they procure anie talke or speech with anye of the Moozes of the towne, and to goe on shoare he durst not, for that he had but few men in number with him, wherefore for that time hee departed thence: and the next day retourned to shoare to take in water, which without anye resistance was done. Nowe beeing without all hope to recouer the Nigro and the two Indians, the generall then determined to depart without them, howbeit before his departure, he went to visit the town of Monsambick, & the dwellers therein, with some sufficient reuenge, by sending to the same such messengers, as thereby they might deeme him their mortall enemy, through the offence they had giuen him, wherefore vpon the monday following hee went before the towne of the Moozes with his Ordnance, and shooting into the same, destroyed it in such sorte as the people thereof were inforced to abandon the same, and fflye into an Ilande within the country. And so vpon the Tuesday being the xxvii. daie of March, our Fleet wayed Anko, & departed from the Towne of Monsambicke, & so in going forwarde came to an Anko hard by two little rocks of Saint George, for so they named it after they came thither, where they remained, for that the

winde

the town  
of Monſa  
bick batte  
red from  
the Fleete

## of the East India.

20

Winde was contrarie to their purpose : Neuerthelesse hauing, after a small winde they departed, howbeit the same was so small, and the currents there so great that they were cast backward.

Howv the Captaine Generall after his departure from Monsambicke, went towards the citie of Quiola, howv hee lost himselfe going to the Iland of Mombassa, & how the ship called S. Raphael stroke vpon the Flats, the vvhich novv haue the same name. Cap.8.



The Captaine Generall following his voiage, and being very glad, that they had found, that one of the foure Moores which Paulo de la Gama toke in the boate was a Pilot, & could carry them to Calicut, vpon the Sunday being the first daye of Aprill, came to certeine Ilands which were very neere to the shore, to the first whereof they gaue a name, calling it the Ilande of the Asotado, which they so named, for that they there did whippe the Pilot Moore of Monsambicke, by commaundement of the Generall, as well for that he had told them those Ilands were firme land, as also befoze that he wold not shew the Generall the water at Monsambick in the night when they sought for the same as befoze is declared: and therfore now taking him with the lie, as informed of those Ilands, & Generall was very angrie with this Pilot, supposing as it was likely, that he did carrie them thither, of intent the ships should be cast away amongst the same: The Moore being cruellie whipped confessed & indeed he did cary & train them thither of purpose they shuld there haue perished, and bene cast vpon the daungers and rockes of the Ilands: These Ilands were so manye and so neere together situated, that they coulde hardlye bee discerned one from another, which when the Generall perceiued, he made into the Seaward, and vpon the Fridaye which was the fourth daye of Aprill, made his way to the North-west, & befoze the noone tide of the same, had sight of a gteat land, and of two Ilandes neere to the same, about which, were many shoels: now being come nere to & shore, & pilots Moores did reknowledge & same, howbeit they said & the Iland of the Christians is that of Quiola, which was behind or a sterne vs 3. leagues, wherwith the generall was much grieved, beleeuing & certainly they were Christians as the Pilots had informed him, and that they had willingly lost their course, for that the shippes should not arriue at that place. The Pilottes shadowing their treason made shew of a

The Iland  
of asotado  
& vwhy so  
called

tea-



## The Conquest

reasonable excuse, saying, that as the winde was greates, so were the currents swift, by reason whereof the shippes had further made saile then they thought for: But the truth was inward, that they more sorrowed their missing and passing by the Island where they informed to be Christians, then did our Captaine Generall: For they were verely in hope to haue ben reuenged ther, vpon our men by death of them all: But GOD beholding the daunger and perill meant towards them, of his diuine goodnesse and mercye deliuered them from the same, and that by a great miracle: For if our men had gone thether, not one of them had escaped with lyfe, since the Generall hauing such a beliefe & opinion, that there were Christians in that Island (as the Pilot had tolde him) would no doubt haue gone presently on land at his arriuall there, and so thereby runne headlong into a place where he and his people should haue bene put to slaughter: The Generall thus sorrowing the misse of that Island, for that he supposed there to haue found Christians, and the Pilots Moyses in chafe with themselves for that they had missed their course thether for purpose afore said, it was then on each part determined, to goe back and assaie to finde the same: neuer thelesse although they earnestly bent themselves to attaine vnto that desired Islande, and spent that daye in trauell to winne their purpose therein, yet coulde they not preuaile thereto: For still the winde was so contrarie, and the currents so great, as doe what they could, they failed of their wills, and were put off from arriuall there, which no doubt was done by Gods prouidence, and of his weere fauour and goodnesse towards our men: as not willing they should receiue anie daunger, or susteine crueltie, or losse of lyfe, amongst those Infidels, and therefore miraculously he preserved our people from the effect and sequele of the malice of those two Pilots of the Moyses of Monsambicke, which had imagined in their mindes, and travailed to bring to finall and execution their diuellish intent: The Captaine generall and the other Captaines thus tossing vp and downe, to and fro, as well with their ships, as also in their mindes

winde, determined to beare towards the Ilande of Mombassa, in which as those two Pilots gaue information, were two Townes, peopled and inhabited as well with Moors as Christians: (which instructions these Pilots gaue, to the intent to deceiue our men, and to traine them thether, of purpose there to kill them, for that in deede that Ilande was altogether and whollie inhabited by Moors, as in lyke manner all that Coast is,) and therefore understanding that from thence to Mombassa are seauentie seauen leagues, they made way to goe thether, and being then towards Euening, they sawe a great Ilande situated towards the North, in which the Moors Pilots sayde there were two Townes, one of Christians, and the other of Moors, as aforesayd. Thus they sayd and inuented to the intent to bring our men in opinion, and make them beleue that there were in that Land, and those Coasts many Christians. In this sort our ships going vnder saile, certayne dayes, the ship called Saint Raphael by fortune one morning two houres befoze daye light, came on ground vpon certayne shoells, two leagues from the firme lande, and as she strake on ground, they within made signes to the other ships to take heede and beware, wherevpon they shot by the shoells and came to an Anko, launching out their boats to giue succour to Paulo de la Gama Captaine in the Raphael, and perceiuing when they came to the same, that the water did ebbe, the Generall was muche gladd thereof, for then he well knew, that at the next flood the ship would be afloate againe, so that now he lost the feare and iealousie he had conceiued, vpon the doubt he had that she was lost. Thus recomforted with the certaintie they sawe of y<sup>e</sup> safetie of the ship, they forthwith layed into the sea many ankers. By this time it was daye light, and after that it was a lowe water, she then remained drye vpon the shoze being a Sandie ground, which was the cause she toke no harme, by striking vpon the same. Our men placed their Ankers which were layd forth right ouer against themselves, and walked vpon the Sandes whilest the Ebbe endured.

Another  
deuise of  
the Moors  
to destroy  
our men  
vithall



## The Conquest

The sho-  
els of S.  
Raphael.

So staieng for the foud, and beholding and viewiug that Ilande, so farre as they coulde see, they gaue for name to those Sandes, the Shoells of Saint Raphael, in respect of the name, the shippe there so hazarded did beare. And so certayne great Ilandes and Hilles which were within the firme Land, directly ouer against those shoells or sands, they gaue the name of The Hills and Ilandes of saint Raphael, vpon the same consideration.

The shippe thus being dyed, our men saue two boates, and Poyes of that Country in the same comming towarde them, to see our shippes, bringing manie sweete Dringes, farre better then those of Portingale, and gaue the same to our men, saieng also to the Generall, that in no wise he should feare anye damage that coulde ensue to the shippe on grounde, for that when it were full Sea, he woulde then be on floate agayne, so as at will and pleasure the same might passe on the intended voyage thereof, with which speaches the Generall was very glad not onely for the good comfort they gaue him, but also in that they came in so good season and time opportune, and therefore he gaue them certayne giftes, which they accepted with manie thankes, and certayne of them vnderstanding that our Flēte intended their Course to Mombassa, they desired the Generall to carry them with him thether, who graunted their requests, permitted them to abide and remayne with him, the others retourning from our Flēte to their Countrey. And when it was a full Sea, the shippe before on ground was afloat, and so came off from the Sandes, wherebpon the Captaine general returned, and proceeded on his way, with all his Flēte.

The

The description of the Iland and Citie of Mom-  
bassa, and how the Captaine generall arrived  
there, and what was the sequell that hapned him  
after he came thether. Chap. 9.



**U**He Generall following this voyage, did  
vpon the Saturday being the seauenth day  
of Aprill, about the going downe of the  
Sunne the same daye come to an Ankoz  
without the Barre of the Iland of Mom-  
bassa, which is harde by the firme lande,  
and is verve plentie of victualls, that is to saye, Millyo,  
Rice, and Cattell, as well great as lyttle, but all well  
growen and fat, chiefly their sheepe, which be all without  
fayles. Also they haue manye Hennes: Moreover, the I-  
lande is verve pleasaunt, hauing many Orchards, wherein  
are planted and are growing, great stoze of hearbes, & ma-  
ny sorts of frutes: that is to saye, Pomegranets, Figges  
of the Indias, Dreuges both swete and solwer, Lymons,  
and Cidrons, and in the same are manye excellent good  
waters. In this Ilande there is a Citie, bearing the selfe  
same name of the Ilande, being in foure degrees on the  
South side, it is a verve great Citie, placed and scituated  
vppon an Hill, which also is a Rocke, wherevpon the Sea  
doth beate, so that it cannot bee vndermined.

At the entering into the Portes or Hauen there is a  
Parke: and at the enterance vppon the Barre, there is  
planted or builded a lyttle Fort, lowe and nere to the wa-  
ter. The most parte of the houses in this Citie, are buil-  
ded with lyme and stone, with the loftes thereof wrought  
with fine knottes of Plaster of Paris, the strates therein  
are verve sayre. They haue a King of themselues, and the  
dwellers or inhabitants of the same are Mozes, where-  
of some bee white, and some browne of coulour, both  
men and women: it appeareth they are good men on horse-  
backe.



## The Conquest

They goe gallantly arrayed, especially the women, which go apparelled in golwnes of silke, and be decked and garnished with Jewells of golde and precious stones. In this Citie is great trade of all kindes of Marchandize. There is also a good Harbour, where alwayes are manye shippes lieng at Road, and from the firme land commeth thether great plenty of Bonnie, Ware and Juozie, the Captaine Generall thus come to the Barre of this Citie, did not then enter forthwith, for that it was almost night when he came to an Anko. But he commaunded to put forth the flagges, and to toll their shippes, reioycing and making great mirth, for that their good fortune, and hope they conceived, that in that Islande there dwelled manye Christians, and that the next daye they should heare Masse on the shore. Moreover they were greatly comforted, as hauing such confidence, that in this place they might and woulde cure and heale all such as were then sicke amongst them, as in truth were, almost all that were there present, albeit in number but fewe, for all the others were dead. Yet such as remayned and had escaped the sicknesse and diseases past, and were not dead of the great infirmities and troubles before in this voyage chaunced vnto them. Being thus at an Anko, and the night almost approached, our men saw about an hundred men in a great Barcke, euery one of them hauing a Sworde and a Target, who at their comming to our shippes, woulde haue entered therein with all theyr weapons: howbeit the Generall would not consent thereto, neither permitted he anye more to enter then foure of them, and those also without weapon, declaring to them in their language that they shoulde pardon him since he was a straunger, and therefore coulde not tell whom he might trust, and vnto those whom he gaue license to enter aborde his ship, he gaue good and gentle entertainment, banquetting the same with such Conserues as they had, (whercof those Moyses did well cate) willing them not to doe euill of him, for his denyall of theyr enterance in manner aforesayde, where-vnto they answered, that they

resuming

Certaine  
of the in-  
habitants  
of this  
city came  
aboarde  
the ship.

comming then was to see him as a rare and new thing in that their countrey, and that he shoulde not meruaile to see them bzing they weapons, since it was the custome & vse of the same to carrie them as well in peace as in the time of warre: also they further declared vnto the generall, that the king of Mombassa did vnderstand of his comming, and for that it was so neere night, he had not then sent to visit him, howbeit the next day he would, and that as he was glad of his arriual there, so also would he be more glad to see him, yea, and to giue him spices to load his ships, furthermore, they informed him that there were many Christians, which liued by themselves in that Island: whereupon the General was not onely ioyfull, but also fullye perswaded that their report thereof was true and vnfeined, since the same was agreeable, and accorded with the information and talke of the two Pilottes, neuerthelesse he carried some sparke of ieaousie in his head and for all their faire speeches and sugared talke, he wisely imagined y those Moors, came to see whether they might, by anye traine take one of our ships, wherein he gessed vpon the truth, for certainly their comming then was onely for that purpose, as afterward it was made apparant. For most true it was y the king of Mombassa did know and had perfect intelligence that we were Christians, and also what we had done in Monsambicke, & therefore he practised meanes to be reuenged of vs, by taking our ships and killing of vs, wherefore prosecuting his wicked intent therein, the next daie following, which was Palme Sundaye, he sent to our Generall certeine white Moors, which declared to him y their king was very glad of his comming thither, and that if he wold come into his harbour, he would liberally giue him all things he stood in neede off, and for assurance of the same he sent him a ring, a shepe, and many sweete Drenches, Cidrons, and Sugar canes, giuing also these Moors instructions to tell him further, that they were Christians, and that in the Island were many christened people: All which they did in such sorte counterfalte, and with so great and deepe dissimulation, that

Severe  
practises  
of slowre  
treason.



## The Conquest

our men thought verely they were Christians: wherefore the Generall receiued them very well, and gaue them certaine giftes, sending to the King greate thanks for his gentle and liberall offer, saing further, that the next day he woulde come nerer in: We sent also to the King a byranch of Corall verie fine, and for more assurance to confirme the same, he sent with those Mozes two of our men, which were banished persons, and were carried of purpose to bee aduentured in such like respect of daunger, as to be lefte and putte on shoze in such places, where it shoulde be thought good to vnderstande somewhat, and then to returne and be taken in againe, when our men and the two Mozes were gone: and come to the shoze, there met them a multitude of people to see them, all which went with them and viewed them, euen to the kings Pallace, where our men being entered, they passed through three doores before they came where the king was, at each of which there was a Porter attending, hauing euery one of them a sword in his hand. They found the King but in small estate, neuerthelesse he receiued them verie well, and commaunded that in the selfe same companie of the Mozes with whome they came, they should be shewed the Citie, and carried about the same in going and viewing whereof, they saue in the streetes many men Prisoners & in yrons, but because our men vnderstode not their language, nor they had any vnderstanding of ours, there was no question demaunded by our two messengers, what Prisoners those were, howbeit they beleued the same to bee Christians, for that our Generall was informed by the two Pilottes, and the kings messengers, (as you haue before hearde) that there were in that Ilande such Christians, which also had warres with the Mozes.

Merchaunts  
of the In-  
dias  
vvhich  
are Chri-  
stians

Moreouer they carryed our men to the Merchauntes house of the Indias, which were Christians, who hauing information that ours also were people Christened, shewed themselves to be ioyfull thereof, both embracing and banketting them, shewing them painted in a Paper, the figure

gure of the holy Ghost, the which they did worshippe, and before them made their Prayers vppon theyr knees, and that with such a countenance, and shew of greates deuotion, as though they were such men inwardlye indeede, as in apperaunce outwardlye they then presented, and made shewe off: Furthermore, the Portes then tolde our men by signes, that manye other Christians as those were, did dwell in another place farre from thence, and therefore they would not carrie them thether: howbeit they sayde, that after our Captaine Generall were come into the Porte or Harbour, they shoulde goe and see them. All these thinges those wilie people, shewed and imparted to our men, of purpose to deceine them and to allure them to come within that Porte, where they were determined to destroy and kill them all.

After they had seene the Citie, they were then brought to the presence of the King, who commaunded to shew them Pepper, Ginger, Cloanes, and Wheat, giuing them of euery sorte thereof some portion to be carreyed and shewed the Generall, and sent him worde by his messenger, that of all those commodities he hadde greates store, and woulde giue him his loading if that hee woulde: Also that he had Golde, and Silver, Amber, Ware, Quoye, and other riches, in so greates plentie, that hee shoulde haue and finde there when hee woulde for lesse valour and pises, then in anie other place.

This Message was brought to our Captaine Generall vppon Mundaye, who hauing seene the Spices, and hearing of the Kinges promise, to furnishe him the same, and to lade him therewith, was meruailous gladde of that offer, and so much the rather, was hee confirmed in opinion of good lucke, for that our two banished men, hadde gathered such intelligence, and made him so full and good declaration of the People, Citie, and Lande there, and chiefelye of the two Christians, they founde in the House of the Merchantes of the Indias,

Where,



## The Conquest

God sent  
them fa-  
therly  
checks to  
keepe the  
fro vtter  
destructiō

Wherefore he & his Captaines immediatly aduised them-  
selues thereof, and so entering into counsel for the same, it  
was by them thought good, to come within the port, and to  
accept the offer of Spices, and afterwarde to goe on theyr  
voiage to Calicut, where if they could not haue the like,  
they would remaine content, with that they should haue in  
this place, and thus hauing concluded vpon these pointes,  
they determined to enter into the harbour the next daie: in  
this meane while came certeine Moyses to our ships with  
so great quietnesse, and humilitie, and with such shew and  
appearance of friendlinesse and loue, as though they had ben  
of long acquaintance and familiaritie with our men: The  
next day following in the morning, & flood being come, the  
Generall commanded to take vp their Ankoys, minding to  
enter the harbour, but God not willing that he and the rest  
should enter into that present mischiese, nor to ende theyr  
liues in that place (as the Moyses had determined they should  
haue done,) did therefore cause and prouide the meane that  
prevented that perill, and wrought their safetie: For when  
the Generalls ship had wayed her Anko, and was going  
to enter the port, she strake vpon a shoel that was alterne  
the same, which hap when he perceiued, and fearing hee  
should cast himselfe away, he then forthwith commanded,  
to let fall his Anko, & in like sort did the other Captaines  
also: which chauce when the Moyses that were in the ships  
saue, & that the Generall was come to an anko, they then  
imagined that during that daye, they shoulde not gette the  
Flete into the harbour, and therefore they ran to theyr  
boate, which they had on the ships side to goe to the Citie,  
at which instant also the Pilots of Monsambique, falling  
a stearne the Admirall, took the water, and those of the  
boate took them in and carried them away with them, al-  
though the Generall called vnto them, requiring them to  
bring backe, and deliuer them to him againe: But when he  
saue they would not so doe, then he apparantlye perceiued  
that ther was an euill meaning in their being and them, to-  
wards him and his, and that it was his great goodnesse and  
fauour

saue to giue him cause of staye, by happening vppon that shoell, thereby to preserve him from their treason imagined, and put in practise: Thus hauing declared to all his company, the opinion he conceived of that which then before their eyes was done, and appeared to be deuised and wrought against them, he then commaunded the night being come, to giue some torments or torture, to two of the Mores, which he brought captiues with them from Mombambicke, thereby to see whether they had practised any treason, and to inforce them to open and disclose the same: which commaundement being obserued, and put in execution, by heating and dropping of bacon vppon their flesh, they immediately confessed, they had conspired treason, and that the Pilots took the Sea, as fearing the same had ben disclosed: wherevpon the Generall, altogether altered his minde and purpose of going into that Harbour. Neuertheless being vnquiet and greatly grieved at their fallshood, he was desirous to vse lyke torture to another More captiue also: to make tryall whether he were of counsell and in consort with the rest.

But this More perceiuing preperation made for that purpose, did cast himselfe his hands being bound, into the sea, as in lyke manner another of them did, before it was daye light. The secrecie of the mischief prepared, being thus come to apparaunt view, and so discovered, the Generall gaue great thanks to God, by whose only goodnesse, he and his company were deliuered from imminent death and slaughter amongst those Infidells, and therefore in contemplation and thanks giuing for the same, he and his company being aboard the Admirall, sayd the salue Regina. After this being mindfull of their safetie, and fearing least the Mores would attempt some matter against them in the night time, they therefore ordained strong and diligent watch, commaunding euery man to watch armed: And here by the way is to be noted one thing, and that to be meruayled at, which is this: That when our men came first before the Towne of Mombassa, all such amongst them



## The Conquest

Tunnie  
good  
meate &  
plentifull  
in the  
coast of  
Möbassa.

them as then were sicke, (which indeede were many) began then presently to be whole : so that in this time of theyz great necessitie, and daunger, they felt and found themselves sound and strong, which as it was past all hope and expectation of man, and farre aboue the common course of Nature, and operation of the same, so the more liuely it appeared to be the meruailous and supernaturall worke of God, and therefore miraculously done at this instant time of necessitie, when his diuine power was to be seene and extended, for the preservation of that poore distressed number, which then had their onely assistance in him. The watch thus prepared and set for that night, it fortuned that those which watched in the shippe Berrio, felt the gabell of the same wagging, whereat an Ankoz lay into the Sea, and at the first they adiudged that the gabell had bene wagged or shaken by a kinde of fish called a Tunnic whereof many were there about which be very great and good meate, but giuing better and more attentiu eare thereto, they then perceiued that their enemies were at the same, who in truth did swimme about the gabell, and were cutting of it with their woodkniues or sawchings, and hoping or rather verely knowing, that performing their enterpryse thereof the shippe would runne a shore, and so both she and our men in the same be cast away and taken : For by any other deuise they coulde not accomplish their willes, and therefore they practised this meane. Howbeit our men hauing discryed whereabout they were, preuented them, by crieng out and calling to the other shippes, showing what was in doing, and willing them also to beware and looke to the same, whereupon they of the shippe Raphael, came presentlye to their succour and rescue, finding some of their enemies amongst the cheines of the tacklings of their forrmost, who perceiuing how they were discouered, sodainly cast themselves vnder water, and with the others that were cutting the gabell of the shippe Berrio, fledde away swimming to certaine boates, which they had lyeng somewhat farre off, wherein (as our men afterward vnderstode) were many  
Mozes,

Moors, who taking them in, rowed fast away, and so returned to the Citie. The Wednesday and Thursday following, our flecte still remained there, about which in y<sup>e</sup> night time came the enemies in boates, which alwayes lay harde by the shoze, from which some of them did swimme of purpose to espie, if by any meane they could cut a sunder the gabells of the Ankoys, but our men obserued and kept such diligent and warie watch, that they could not preuaile, neuerthelesse our men were greatl<sup>y</sup>e troubled, and put in feare of burning their shippes. For truly it was to be meruayled at, that the Moors came not about the same in such shippes as they had, which if they had done, it had bene then lykely by all coniecture of man, that they should haue destroyed and killed vs all. It was coniectured that they being in feare of the Ordinaunce in our shippes, durst not giue attempt to set vpon the same by force, but whatsoeuer cause appeared in our sightes to bee a lette in that respect to them: It was most certayne in deede, that it was God his good will and fauour, to put their hearts in feare to deale with vs in anye forcible manner; whereby we might be preserved from the crueltie intended towarde vs.

¶ Heerein is contayned matter of the Citie of Mylind, and how the Captaine generall came thether. Chap. 10.



The Captaine generall did willingly carrie & remaine before Mombassa, the two daies as before is declared, of purpose to see if he could haue from thence two Pilots to cary him to Calicut, for that without them it was verie hard for him to goe thether,

¶ ii.

Since



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since our Pilots had no knowledge of that Countrey. But when he sawe he coulde not haue anye there, he departed thence vpon Friday in the morning with a small winde, and at the coming ouer the Barre, he left behind him one of his Ankoꝝ, for his men were so wearied with bringing and hailing vp the rest, that they coulde not waꝑe vp the same, which afterward being found ther by the Moꝛes, was carried to the Citie, and placed harde by the Kings Ballaice, and remained there at what time Don Franco de Almeyda was the first Lord President of the Indias: who when he toke the same towne from the Moꝛes, found this Ankoꝝ there, as I shall declare in the second Booke of this present Treatise. Being thus departed from Mon. balla and passing on their voyage, eight leagues beyonde the same, the Generall and his flete, through lacke of winde, came to an Ankoꝝ hard by the land in the night, and in the dawning of the daye, they discovered two Sambucos (which are little Pinnacies) vnder the lye, thre leagues from the flete a Sea boꝝd, which when the Generall sawe, and being desirous to haue some Pilots to carrie him to Calycut, he supposed he might be sped of such to serue his turne, if he could take those small boates or Pinnacies, and therefore waying his Ankoꝝ, he and the other Captaines went towards them, and pursued the same vntil Euen-song time, at which instant the Generall toke one of them, but the other ranne alande, from whence befoze it came. In this Pinnace which was so taken, were seauentene Moꝛes, amongst which was one olde Moꝛe, who seemed to be Master of the rest, hauing with him a young woman that was his wife: In the same also was found great store of siluer and golde, and some victualles. The Captaine not stayeng vppon this occasion, forthwith went forwarde, and in the selfe same daye with his whole flete came harde by M. lynde, which is eightene leagues from Momballa, and in thre degrees to the Southwarde it hath no good Harbour, for that it is almost an open Roade, but there is a certain Pierre or recife wheron the sea doth beat, which

Among  
the Moꝛes  
also olde  
men vse  
to marrie  
young  
men.

which is the cause why the ships doe ride far from y<sup>e</sup> shore:  
This Citie standeth in a broad field along the Sea side, &  
round about the same are many Palme trees, with many  
other sorts of trees, which all the yeare grow greene: Also  
many Gardens and Orchards, replenished with all kind of  
herbes and fruits, and very faire fountaines of good wa-  
ters in the same: But principally their Dringes excel, which  
are not onely very great, but also very sweet and pleasant  
in tast: They haue also great store and plentie of victuals,  
as Mylyo and Ryse, Cattell both greate and small, also  
great store of Hennes, which bee very fat and good cheape.  
The Citie is great, hauing in the same faire Streets, & ma-  
ny faire houses of lime and stone, builded with many lofts,  
with their windowes and farris made of Lime & earth:  
The naturall people of that Countrie are blacke, and of  
good proportion of bodie, with curled haire, the straungers  
which resort thether & make their abode there, are Moors  
of Arabia which doe gouerne themselves very well & com-  
mendably, especially the Gentlemen, who from the girdle  
vpward goe naked, and from the same downeward doe co-  
uer themselves with silke, and with very fine cotten cloth,  
and others with short Cloakes made of Cotten after the  
olde fashion, the which they doe weare to couer their arms  
pits: and vpon their heads, they weare a certcine manner  
of Cloth wrought with silke and golde. They weare also  
rich Daggers with great tassels of silke, of many colours,  
and swordes very well garnished: They be all left handed,  
and carrie with them alwaies bowes and arrowes, so they  
vse the pastime of shooting, & be great good Archers. Moreo-  
uer, they account themselves to be good horsemen, although  
there be a common saieng or speech vused by the inhabitants  
in the coasts thereabouts: The men on horsebacke of  
Mombassa: and the women of Mylynde: so as in Mom-  
bassa be very good horsemen, so in Mylynde are very faire  
women, which goe richly apparelled: In this Citie also  
dwel many Gentiles of the kingdome of Cambaya, which  
is in the Indias: and these are greate merchants vsing tract

The beau-  
tiful situ-  
ation of  
Mylynde,  
vvith the  
pleasant-  
nes of the  
soile, and  
fruits.



## The Conquest

Mylynde  
like a city  
of Por-  
tingale

of trafficke for golde, whereof there is some in that Coun-  
trie, as in like manner ther is Amber greace, Iuoy, Pitch,  
and Ware, all which they giue in erchaunge to such as  
come from Cambaya for Copper, Quicksiluer, and Cloth  
of Cotten, and that the one and the other hath gaines ther-  
of: The king of this Citie is a Moore, and is serued with  
farre greater estate then the other kings which remaine  
behinde. The Generall being come ouer against this Citie  
did reioyce in his heart very much, and so likewise did all  
the rest of the flecte, for that they now saue, a Citie lyke  
vnto those of Portingale, and therefore they rendered most  
heartie and humble thanks to God, for their good and safe  
arriuall there: And being desirous to haue some Pilottes  
to carrie them to Calicut, the Generall commaunded to  
come to an Anko, minding to assay if he coulde by anye  
meanes obtaine such there as might serue for that purpose:  
For vntill this time, he could not know of the Moores hee  
had taken, whether amongst them were any Pilots, who  
albeit they were offered torments, still answered and said,  
there were none of them skilfull in that respect.

¶ How the Captaine Generall sent a Moore in message  
to Mylynde, and what aunswere the King made  
him. Cap. 11.



THE next day after being Easter euen, the  
old Moore which was taken Captiue, with  
the rest in the Pinnace, tolde the Generall  
that in Mylynde were foure ships of the  
Christian Indias, promising also that if he  
would license him, and the other Moores  
to goe to land, he would giue him for his resgat, Christi-  
an Pilots, and moreouer wold furnish him with all things  
he had neede off. The Generall being well pleased with the  
speeches, and offer of this olde Moore, commaunded to wey  
they, Anko, and so remoued and came to an Anko, with-  
in

in halfe a league of the Citie. But from thence there came no bodie to our flecte, for they feared and were in doubt that our men would take them captiue, and besides they knew by the Pinnace which the Generall tooke, that wee were Christians, believing also that our Shippes were Shippes of warre: All which the Generall supposing they coniectured: hee therefore vppon the Mundaye in the morning commaunded the olde Moore to a certaine shelve lying ouer against the Citie, and there to leane him, from whence he deemed they would fetch him, as indeede they did, for when our Boate was gone from thence, there came from the shoare a boat for the Moore, & so caried him awaye presently to the King, to whome the Moore declared on the behalfe of the Generall what hee requested to haue, and further that hee desired to be at peace with him, in respect of his noble personage, whereof hee had heard greate good reposte, hoping also that it was God his great good will & pleasure that the Indias should bee discovered, which the rather by his aide & furtherance might be accomplished. The king hearing and receiuing in fauourable part the message, and messenger, was also verie gladde thereof, and forthwith returned the Moore in a Boate, sending with him one of his owne seruantes, and a Priest by whome hee sent the Captaine Generall worde, that he was verie willing to conclude a peace betwene them, and that hee would giue him such Pilottes, as he would desire, with whatsoeuer besides he had neede of, and by these messengers were presented to the Generall, from the King three Sheepe, many Oranges, and Sugar Canes, which he receiued in thankfull wise, & by the selfe same messenger, returned answer to the king their Maister, that he graunted vnto, and accepted of the peace moued and offered betwene them, and was and would be readie to confirme the same. Mooreouer hee saide vnto them, that the next daye, hee would enter into their Harbour, and that the King should vnderstande that hee came from, and is subiecte to a greate King, vppon the Cape of the Occident, who was

A present  
sent to  
the  
Captaine  
Generall  
from the  
king of  
Mylynde.



## *The Conquest*

was desirous to know where the Citie of Calicut stode, & had sent him to finde out and discover the same, commanding him also, to make peace with all kings and Princes, vpon whose territories in his waie, he should hap to come and arriue, which would be willing to haue the same with him: and further tolde them that it was now two yeares since he came from his Countrie, and that the king his Maister was such a worthy and puissant Prince, as the king their Maister would be gladde to knowe him for his friend: Thus hauing talked and discoursed with them to effect aforesaid, hee then dismissing them, sending by the same for a Present a Hat, (which in that time was vled) and two braunches of Corall, three basons of Basse, certaine little Bells, and two Scarffes to the king. The next daie after, being the second after Easter daie, the Captaine Generall came nere to the Citie, whereof the king hauing knowledge, did immediatly send to visite him, in more honourable sorte: for hearing how farre of he was come, and what he sought, he adiudged the king of Portingale to be a Prince of a great stomack, and the General to be a worthy subiect in obeyeng to hazard himselfe, in so daungerous and long a iourney Also hee conceiued greate pleasure in his heart that he shoulde see such people, as had so long time trauailed vpon the sea, and so desirous to see our men, he sent word to the Generall, that the next day following, he would in his own person visite him, and that their meeting should be vpon the water, and therewith sent him five sheepe, and store of Cloues, Ginger, Pepper, and Nutmegs. This message thus declared, the Captaine Generall yielded to the kings determination, and thereupon did enter nêrer, and came to an Anko, harde to the foure shippes of the Indias, (whereof the olde Moze tolde him before,) The Owners then hauing knowledge that our shippes came from a Christian Countrie, and that we were Christians, did immediatly come to visite our Generall, who at that instant was in the ship of Paulo de la Gama: These men are byolone of coulour, but they are of good stature & well

proportioned: They goe apparelled in long white gownes made of cotten, they haue great beards, & the hayre of their heades is long lyke vnto womens, and pleited vnder theyr toothes, which they weare on theyr heades. The Generall at theyr repaire to him, receiued them verpe well, asking them first whether they were Chzistians, by an Interpreter tour he had that could speake the Algarauia tongue, wherof they had some vnderstanding, saieng that it was not their proper language, howbeit they yet had some knowledge thereof, by occasion of the trade and talke they vsually haue with y<sup>e</sup> Mozes, of whom they aduised him to be ware, and not haue ouer farre trust and confidence in those of Mylynde, least that the sequell of their inwarde meaning, were farre contrarie to their outwarde shewe. The Generall determining of himselfe to make tryall, whether they were Chzistians or not, or had anye knowledge of God, commaunded to bring forth a Table, wherein was painted the picture of our Ladie at what time she wept, in which also were the pictures of some of the Apostles, and shewed the same to the Indians, not telling them what it was: which when they saue, they fell presently downe vpon the ground, worshipping that Representation, and prayed a while, whereof our Generall was verpe ioyfull, and then demaunded whether they were of the Citie of Calycut, wherevnto they answered, No: howbeit they sayd they were of another Citie, further off called Grangalor, but of Calicut they could not say or informe any thing. And from this time, so long as our Flæte remayned there, they dayly came to the shippe of Paulo de la gama, to make their prayers befoze that Table, and did offer to the Images in the same, Pepper, and other things. These Indians did eate no Beefe, as we were informed of them.

The description of their persons and attire that inhabite this countrey and Citie.



## The Conquest

**H**ow the King of Mylynde visited the Captaine generall, and made peace with him, giuing him a Pilot to carry him to Calycut. Cap. 12.



He last day of the eight after Easter, dinner being done, the King of Mylynde came in a great boate hard to our Flæte, apparelled in a Cassocke of Crimson Damask, lined with græne satten, hauing vpon his head a rich towell. He was sitting in a chaire, such as was vsed in olde time, very well made and wrought with wire, being in sight very faire, and in the same was a cushion of silke, and another like vnto that hard by him, which was couered with a hat of Crimson satten. There stood hard by him as his Page, an olde man, who carried a very rich sword, the scaberd wherof was siluer: he brought with him manye Shagbuts, and two Flutes of Iuozie, which were eight spans of length each of them, they were very well wrought, and vpon the same they played by a little hole that is in the midst thereof, agreeing and according well with the shagbuts. There came with the King, about the number of twentie Poyes Gentlemen all richly apparelled. The King now being come nere to the ships, the Captaine generall came forth to meete him in his boat well trimmed and set out with all his flagges, and he himselfe comely araied, withall his best apparell, carrieng with him twelue of the most principall men of his shippes, his brother onely except, whom he left with charge of y<sup>e</sup> same. The boates of each part being come nere together, and the one making countenance of friendly salutation & entertainment to the other, the King then said to the Generall, that he would speake with him in his owne boat, of purpose to see & view him the better, wherupon forthwith he receiued him into his boat, the King then giuing to the Generall as great honour & curtesie as though he had also ben a King: he very earnestly noted & beheld him & his men, as a strange sight and matter to him and his people: he required the Generall to tell him the name of his King, and being tolde, he

com

The meeting of the king of Mylynde and the Captaine generall.

commaunded the same to be then presently written: he also inquired matter perticularly of him, & of his power, wherunto the Generall answered, and in euery point satisfied his demaund, declaring also for what cause y<sup>e</sup> king his master had sent him to discover Calicut, which was to haue from thence spices, whereof in his dominion & country was none. And after he had thus talked with the king & informed him somewhat of the same & of the straights of y<sup>e</sup> red Sea, the king then promised to him a Pilot to carry him to Calicut, & also very earnestly desired him to goe with him into his Citie, there to take his pleasure, & solace himself in his Pallace, saieing it was needfull & necessary, after so many troubles, in so long a voyage sustained, to vse some recreation, and take some rest: further then promising, that if he would so do, that afterward he in like manner would go with him to see his ships, & make merry in the same, wherunto the Generall answered, that he had no license of the king his Master to go a shore, & therefore if he shuld varie from his Princes wil & commaundement therein, he shuld then giue an euill accompt of himselfe, to which excuse the king replied, saieing, that if he shuld go to see his ships, what accompt should he then make to those of his Citie, or what might they deeme & adiudge of him therein: yet notwithstanding he said, y<sup>e</sup> it was a grieve to him y<sup>e</sup> he refused to go with him to his Citie, which was & shuld be at y<sup>e</sup> commandment of him & of y<sup>e</sup> king his master, to whom he wold send his Embassadoz or els write, if he wold come y<sup>e</sup> way at his returne from Calicut. The General yeelding thanks to the king, promised him to returne y<sup>e</sup> way, & whilest they were thus talking there, did send for those Princes, which he had taken captiues, and gaue them to the king, saieing that if he could do him any further pleasure, he would gladly doe the same: with which gift the king was so content, that he said, he did more esteeme of the same, then if he had giuen him such another Citie as that of Mylynde was.

Now hauing ended their talke and confirmed the friendship betwene them, the king then rowing amongst our ships,



## The Conquest

and behelde the same, with great pleasure and admiration, out of which great store of shot of Ordnance passed, wherewith they were greatlye delyghted, all which time our Generall went with him, to whom he declared, that he neuer saw any men of whom he tooke so great pleasure, as he did of those of Portingall, whereof he woulde gladlye haue some with him, to helpe him in his warres, which he hath sometime with his enimies: for it well appeared they were men apt to offend their enimie, and to abide and suffer any trauell or paine, that should happen vnto them. To which his speeches the Generall aunswered, that if hee had experience of their doings, he woulde then a great deale better lyke of them, and further that they would helpe him, if the King his Master would sende his ships of warre to Calicut, as he doubted not but he would, if it wer Gods good pleasure to permit the same to be discovered. After the King had in this sort solaced himselfe, he then desired the General, that since he would not go with him to his Citie, he shuld then let him haue two of his men to go and see his Wallaice, and for pledge of the same, he would giue him his sonne, and one of his chiefe Chaplaines, the which they call Cacus, wherevnto the Generall yelded and appointed two of our men to go with the King, who at his departure, requested the Generall that the next day he would goe along in his boate hard by the shore, where he shuld see his hoysmen running, & so they departed for that time, the next day being Thursday, the Captaine generall & Nicholas Coello, went in their boates armed along the shore, the one somewhat distant from the other, betwene whom vpon the shore were many men on horsebacke skirmishing, & as our boats approached nere the shore, there came certaine footemen downe certaine stayres of stone from the Kings house, which was in sight, where they tooke the King vp in a chaire, and carried him verie nere to the Boate of the Generall, to whom he spake verie louing wordes, and once more requested him to enter vpon land, and go to his Citie, for that his father being a lame man, was desirous to see him, and that

that whilst he should remaine on shoare, both he and his children would enter and abide in his ships. But our Generall, fearing least vnder such sugred speech some bitter baite might lie couered, did therfore still excuse himselfe for going on land, alleadging hee must obey his Prince, who gaue him no license or commission so to do at anie time. And so taking his leaue of the king, hee went a while hard by the ships of the Indias, shooting off much Ordnance, who when they sawe vs passe by lifted vp their hands, saying: Christe, Christe, and that night with the kings license our men made them a great feast, with much pastime also of Squibs, Gunne shot, and great and lowde cryes. The Fleet thus lying in y<sup>e</sup> harbour, there came vpon y<sup>e</sup> sundaie being the 21. day of Aprill, from the king, a man that was in great credit with him, to visite the Captaine Generall, who at that instant was very sad and heauie: for that it was then two daies since any man came to the Fleet from the Citie, by reason whereof he feared least that the king were offended with him, as taking occasion of offence, for that he refused to go on shoare, supposing also that he wold therevpon, breake the peace and league made betwene them, for which he was sorrowfull, especially since as yet he had no Pilots. And when he sawe, that he which was so great with the king, did bring him no Pilots, he then began to haue some iealousie, and suspicion of the king, who being informed therof, and knowing the Generall remained there for that cause, did therfore forthwith send him a Pilot, a Gentile (called in their language Gosarate) whose name was Canaca, making excuse that hee had not sent him sooner, and so the king and the Generall remained friends, and continued the peace before concluded vpon betwene them.

The Generall  
would  
not consent to go  
on land at  
Mylynde

¶ How the Captaine Generall departed from Mylynde, came to Calicut, and of what greatnesse and noblenesse that citie is. Cap. 13.



## The Conquest



**T**HE Captaine Generall being thus pro-  
 uided of all things necessarie for his voy-  
 age, departed from Mylynde towards Ca-  
 licut vpon the Tuesday, being the 22. day  
 of Aprill, and from thence he began to cut  
 ouer a goulfe, which is of seauen hundredeth  
 and fiftie leagues, for the land there doth make a certeine  
 great valley, which doth runne along the coast from the  
 North to the South, and our voyage in demaunding of Ca-  
 licut, lay to the Eastward, in following whereof the next  
 Sunday our men sawe the North, which a long time be-  
 fore they had not scene, and also they sawe the South, of  
 which good fortune they thanked God, in that it represen-  
 ted as then to them winter of the Indias, & where alwaies  
 in that goulfe are great stormes, they now found none, but  
 rather faire weather: The Fridaye being the .xvii. daye of  
 May, and .xxiii. daies next after their departing from My-  
 lynde (in which time they had scene no land) they then dis-  
 couered & came to sight of land. And the Flēete being .viii.  
 leagues of seaboard from the shoare: the land seemed high:  
 their Pilot whose name was Canaca, did as then let fall  
 the Plommet, & found fortie fve fathom, wherevpon to a-  
 uoide and apart himselfe from that coast, he made his way  
 to the Southeast, & vppon the Saterday he made to land-  
 ward, howbeit he ranne not so nere the same as he might  
 certainly knowe it, but he perceined by small sholmes of  
 raine, which fell as they made towards land, y they were  
 on the coast of y Indias, for y at y present time of y yere,  
 y winter is euer in those Indias. The Sunday, being y .xx. day  
 of May the Pilot sawe certeine high hils, which were ouer  
 the Citie of Calicut, and came so nere to land, that he did  
 reknowledge the same, and with great ioy and pleasure, de-  
 maunded of the Generall Albrycias, sayeng that this was  
 the land, which he and his companie so greatly desired to  
 see, and come to. The General replenished with ioy of that  
 good fortune. gaue Canaca his demaund, & forthwith went  
 to praier, sayeng the Salue, wherein they gaue God greate  
 thanks,

They wer  
 23. dayes,  
 & sawe  
 no lād af-  
 ter theyr  
 departure  
 from  
 Mylynde.

## of the East India.

12

Thanks, for this their happie and safe arriuall vpon that coast, and in sight of the place, which they so earnestly longed for to see, when prayer was done they made great ioy, and feasted on shipboard, and the selfe same daie in the evening, the Generall came to an Anko, two leagues from Calicut, and immediatly came certeine people of that land in fowre boates called Almaydyas, to our flete, to vnderstand what ships these were, hauing neuer before sene any of that making, come to that coast: These people came all naked, sauing that their members were couered, with little peeces of linnen cloath: they are browne people. At their comming to vs some of them entered into the Generalls shippe, and albeit the Pilot Goserate, tolde him that they were Fishermen, a worse kinde of people (for so they call all such as be worse men in the Indias) yet he receyued them all well, and commaunded his men to buye of their fish, which they brought with them: And hauing some talke with them, he did vnderstand that, that towne was not Calicut, for it was they said further off, & offered to carrie our flete thether: Whereupon the Generall required them so to doe, and therewith departed thence, and were brought by those Fishermen to Calicut, which is a Citie situated on the Coast of Malabar, which is a Province of the second Indias, that hath his beginning in the Mount Dely, and endeth at the end of Comory, which is in length threescore leagues and one, and fiftene in breadth: All the Countrie lyeth lowe, and is apt to be couered with water: Ther be many Ilandes in the same, & it doth enter into the Sea Indico: There is a verie high hill which diuideth the limits betwene them, and a great kingdome called Narsinga: The Indians do report that this land of Malabar in olde time was maine Sea, and ran as far as y hill where now the Ilands of Maldius are, which were then firme land, & did couer & discover y other of Malabar, in which are many and pleasaunt Cities, & tho'e also very rich, by reson of y trade they haue principally with the of Calicut, which in riches & vice doth excel al in our time,

whose

The Fleet  
arriueth  
at Calicut  
& the ma-  
ner of the  
people  
there



## The Conquest

whose foundation was on this sort: This Province of Malabar was in the olde time gouerned altogether by one king, who made his aboade in the Citie of Conlan, and in the last kings daies of this land (whose name was Saranaperimal, and died fife hundreth yeares agoe) the Mozes of Meca discovered the Indias, and came to the Province of Malabar, the inhabitants wherof then were Gentiles, and the king himselfe was a Gentile: From the time of the comming of these Mozes, they beganne to account, the yeares as we account, from y<sup>e</sup> birth of our Lord God: And after they came thether, they grew into such familyaritie with this king, and hee entered into such conference & good opinion of their lawes, that he renounced the manner of religion of his owne Countrie, and minded thence forth to imbrace theirs, and the loue and liking he had of this sect of Mahomet so deeply tooke roote, and entered into his heart, that he determined to goe and ende his lyfe, in the house of Meca: Thus being resolved, for the loue he bare to that sect, to abandon and leaue his kingdome for ever, and goe with them, befoze his departure he imparted to his kinred, and diuided amongst them all his Lordships, and territories, and hauing distributed and giuen the same so farre forth, that there remained to him no more but xii. leagues of his Countrie, which laye neere to the shoare, where he meant to imbarke himselfe, the which was neuer befoze inhabited, & therfore he then gaue y<sup>e</sup> same to a cosin of his, which then serued him as his Page: commaunding y<sup>e</sup> the same circuit shold be inhabited in perpetuall memorie, of his imbarking there: To the same his kinsman hee also gaue, his sword, & a towell after the Morisco sort, as things apperteining and incident to the estate, & gaue commaundement to all the Gentlemen to whom he had giuen all the rest of his lands, that they shold be obedient & true subiects vnto him, and to take him for theyr Emperour, (the kings of Conlan and Canamor onely except) whome also he commaunded and charged, & likewise al the others, that they no, no other Lordes shoulde coine money in the

The first  
& strange  
institutiō  
of the  
kingdōe  
of Cali-  
cut.

Province of Malabar, but onely the King of Calicut. So hauing thus bestowed and giuen his lands, possessions and dignities, as he thought good, and set euery necessary thing in order, for establishing his determinate will and pleasure, he then imbarked himselfe there, wher now Calicut is builded and scituated, and for that the King did there imbarke himself to go towards y<sup>e</sup> house of Meca, y<sup>e</sup> Moors then took such deuotion towards that place, that they and all their posteritie euer since that time hetherto would not, nor yet will take any lading but out of that Port. And from that time afterward, they came no more to the Port of Coulan, as vsually they did befoze, by meane and occasion whereof, the same grew to ruine, and was destroyed, especially when Calicut was once builded, and that many Moors came and inhabited the same. For as they were Merchants of great dealings, so came they thether, and made there the greatest and richest Faire or Parte of all the Indias, finding there all the Spices, Drugs, Nutmegs, and all other things that could be wished, as all kindes of precious Stones, pearles, & seede of pearle, Muske, Saunders, Aguila, fine Dishes of earth, Laker, gylted Coffers, and all the fine things of the Chyna, Gold, Amber, Ware, Iuorie, fine and course cotton, as well white as dyed in colours, much rawe silke, & silke twisted, and all kinde of linnen cloth of silke, and golde, and cloth of golde, and cloth of tissew, chamlets, graine, scarlets, carpets of silke, Copper, Quicksiluer, Vermilion, Aliome, coralls, Rose waters, and all kinde of Conserues, so that ther is no kinde of Merchandise of all the world, which coulde be demaunded, but it should be found there. Moreover, it was very quiet, for that it was scituated along the Coast, the which lieth almost open, and very dangerous: it is ironed & set round about with many Orchards, in which are many sorts of fruits of that lande, and many hearbes, and excellent waters. Also they haue many Palme trees, and other sorts of trees. In this lande there is but small store of Rice, which is ther a principall victuall, as amongst vs our Wheate is, but there cometh from other places

Laker is a kinde of gum that procedeth of the Ant.

It,

great



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great aboundaunce thereof, as in like manner there doeth of other victualls. The Citie is great, and all the houses be of straw, (onely the houses of their Idolls, Chappels, and the Kings houses except) which are of lyme and stone, and couered with tyle, for none but they are permitted by theyr lawes to haue anye other manner of building then with strawe. It was inhabited by Gentiles of sundry sects, and by Mores which were great Merchants, and so rich, that some of them had fiftie ships. There is no such season of Winter, but that there may lye in that Harbour sixe hundred shippes. They haue there a shore whether they do carry them with small trauaile, for that they be made without nailes, solwed with ropes of Cayro, and pitched vpon, they haue no quiell, but are flat bottomed.

¶ Of what great power the King of Calicut is, and of his vse and custome: likewise of the other Kings of Malabar, and how the Nayres do liue.  
Chapter. 14.



That this Citie was of so great a trade, and also the Countrey round about, so inhabited, which increased so largely the Kings rents, it came to passe, that he grew to be so rich of money, and so mightie in power by multitude of people, that in one daye he was able to leaue and make in a readinesse thirtie thousand fighting men, and in thre dayes space, one hundred thousand. They called him Samoryn, which in theyr tongue is Emperour, for so he was among the Kings of Malabar, and there were no more but two beside him: that is to say the King of Coulan and the King of Canauor: For albeit the others were called Kings, yet were they not so.

This

This King of Calycut was a Bramene, as others his Predecessours also were, which amongst the Malabars are Priests, and for that it is a custome and auncient order obserued, that all the Kings doe dye in one Pagode, which is the house of prayers to their Idolls, he is elected for that cause, for alwayes in the same house there must be and is, a King to serue those Idolles, and when he that serueth there doeth dye, then must the King that then raygneth and gouerneth, leaue his Empire, and goe serue in that place as the other did, and into his place and Kingdome, they elect and put an other, that shall so succede him.

The election and successiō of the kings of Calicut.

And if anye of them that is in possession of the Kingdome, refuse to goe into the Pagode, (the King that then serueth in the same being dead) they will then inforce him thereto which so refuseth, although it be against his will. These Kings of Malabar be browne men, and goe naked from the gyrdell vppwarde, and from thence downewarde, they be couered with cloath of silke and of Cotten: sometime they put vppon them shorle gownes, which they doe call Basus of silke or cloath of golde, and of scarlet with very rich stoness: and especialllye the King of Calycut excelleth in those attires and Jewells. They be shauen, leauing vpon the vpper lip as the Turkes vse, the hayze vnshauen. They be serued but with small estate, especialllye at theyr meate, whereof they haue but lyttle: But the King of Calycut is serued, with greater Estate.

These Kings doe not marrie, nor obserue the Lawe of marriage, but yet they maye haue a Lemman of the house of the Nayres, which amongst the Malabars are Gentlemen, and she hath hir house by hir selfe, neere to the Wallaice. They doe allowe hir so lyberalllye for hir charges and maintenaunce, that she maye haue plentifulllye of all thinges to hir contentation, vppon that Stypende assigned byr.

the Kings Lemman vwith hir state and allowvace

And when any disliking is had of hir by them, they may



## The Conquest

alwayes leaue hir and such children as they haue by hir, be not taken or accounted for theyrs, neither doe they inherite the Kingdome, nor anye thing of theyrs.

After they be men, they are had in no more estimation, then that is incident vnto them from the mothers bloud and parentage. Their brothers doe inherite if they haue any, if not, then their sisters children shall, who doe not marry, neither yet haue any certaintie of their husbands. They bee very free and at libertie, to chouse those of whom they like, and be such as are best esteemed of. They haue verie great rents allowed them: and when anye of them come to the age of ten yeares, (for at that time they are to be knowen of men) their kinred then doe sende forth out of this kingdome, for a young man Nayre, and presenting him with gifts, earnestly request the same to take hir virginity, who then receiveth hir with great ioy, and after she is thus bled, doth tye about hir necke a Jewell, which she doth carry and weare alwayes during hir life, as a thing in great estimation, & for a token of the libertie giuen hir by that act, to do with hir bodie afterward for ever, what she will: for with out this manner of ceremonie, they may not know any mā. These Kings sometimes haue warres one with another, & they in their owne persons goe into the fieldes, yea, and if need so require, they also fight: when they die, they be caried out from their pallaice into a plain field, wher they be burned with great quantitie of wood of sanders & a sweet wood called Aguila. At this burning are alwaies present all his brothers, & nearest kinred, and al the noble men of the countrey. And they make stave of him from burning after his death thre daies, that they all may repaire thether & come together, to see and biewe whether he came to his death naturallie, or whether he were killed: for if he dyed by force of anye mans hande, then are they bounde to take reuenge thereof.

After hee is burned, and all the ashes buried, they doe all shawe themselves without leauing any hayre, yea, even of the least childe that is a Gentile.

All of them in generall doe then cease from eating of Betele, during the space of thirtene daies, and he that doth eate the same infringeth their law, and therefore they wil cut his lips, and that by iustice: In all this time, the prince which shall succeed doth not command nor gouerne, which is done of purpose, to see whether in that time anye man will come to saie or object any thing against him. These things and daies, thus done and past, the noble men of the Countrie doe cause him to be swozne, to all those lawes & customs, which were made by his predecessour, and to pay all his debts: Also that he shall trauaile to recouer whatsoever things of his kingdome before were lost: This oath he taketh hauing his sworde in his lefte hande, and in the right hande a Candle burning, which hath a ring of golde vppon it, which he toucheth with two of his fingers, and so taketh his oath. This being done, they throwe or polue vpon him a few graines of Rice, with many such other ceremonies, in doing whercof they say many prayers, and he worshippeth then the Sunne, three times, which so done, the Caymayles, that be Lords by parentage doe immediately holding the selfe same Candle, sweare to be true subiects vnto him.

The thirtene daies being ended, they all then doe eate Betele againe, and flesh and fish as before, the king onely except, who then taketh thought and sorroweth for the death of his predecessour: whose manner of mourning is thus: He must not by the space of one whole yeare, eate any flesh or fish, or yet Betele, neither must he haue his beard, nor cut his nailes, nor eate but once in a daie, and must wash himselfe all his bodie ouer, before he doe eate, and praie certeine houres in the daye: After the yeare is past and ended, he then vseth a certeine ceremonie for the soule of the king his predecessour, which is much like to our Dirge, whereat are assembled an hundred thousand persons, at which time he giueth great almes, when this ceremonie is finished, they then confirme the Prince for inheritor of the kingdome, and so all the people do depart.



## The Conquest

Naires, &  
vvhhat  
theyr  
degree,  
office, &  
calling is.

The king of Calicut and all the other kings of Malabar, haue one especiall man that hath the charge for administration of iustice, and doth command & is obeyed in all other matters of gouernement as ample as the king himselfe. The men of warre which the king of Calicut & the other kings haue, are Nayres, which be all Gentlemen, and are appointed to no other office or affaires, but to fight when neede requireth. They be all Gentiles, and carrie their armour wherewith they fight themselves, which is bowes, arrowes, speares, daggers made like a hooke, and targets, and march with them very honourably and gallantly, but they goe naked, carrieng onely certeine linnen cloth of cot-ten painted, with the which they couer themselves from the girdle to the knee, they are bare footed: and weare vppon their heads certeine towels. They all liue by the king, and by the noblemen of the countrie, of whome they haue ordinarie stipends and allowance for their maintenaunce: They doe so greatly esteeme and make account of theyr gentrie, and of their cleanness, that they will not touch any husbandman, neither permit any of them to come into their houses. The husbandmen are bound when they goe in the strates to crie with a lowde voyce, and saye, Hoo they goe, for if these Gentlemen doe come, and bid them goe out of the way, and they doe not obey their commandement therein: then may they kill them. The king cannot make Gentlemen, except they be of the stocke of Gentlemen. They serue very well and faithfully, with them of whome they haue their intertainment, and vnder whose obeyssaunce they liue, not sparing by night nor daie, anye opportunitie of time for shewe of their best indeauour in seruice of the same, nor making anye account of meat or of theyr person or of sleepe, whensoever their trauell or diligence, may take effect or purpose of well doing. They haue so small charge and occasion of expence, that with halfe a crowne a peece (which is their ordinarie allowance for one moneth) they may very well and sufficiently, mainteine themselves, and each of them a boye to serue him.

The

The Nayres by the lawe of the country, cannot marry, and for that cause they haue no children certain, but those which they haue are begotten of Lemnians, with which thre or foure of them do lie, by accord & agreement had and determined amongst themselves, hauing one woman onely to serue that purpose, vnlesse any cause or quarrell growe amongst them, and euery one of them shall be with her a whole daie, accompting from the one halfe of the daye present wherein he commeth, to the other halfe of the day next following, at which time he departeth from her, and then commeth another, who continueth the lyke time: Thus they passe ouer and spend their life time without care and trouble of wife and children: They mainteine their lemnians verie well according to their degrees and birth. And if any of them will at any time leaue and forsake her, they may at their pleasure doe it, and likewise she maye refuse anye of them at her will. These women are all Gentlewomen, for the Nayres maye not take anye Countrey women, and they also doe not marrie: And for that there bee so many men to one woman, they take not them for theyr children which bee begotten of her, although the same bee lyke vnto them: and therefore theyr brothers children, doe inherit their lands, and haue their goods: This lawe that these Gentlemen shoulde not marrie, the king ordeined and made, for that they hauing no wiues nor children, on whom they should haue care and fire their loue, might the better indure the warres, and liue at moze libertie to serue in the same.

And because they are Gentlemen, and that they should be the moze animated and incouraged to liue in that order, and to serue well, they be so priuiledged, that none of them can be imprisoned for any cause, nor be put to death by any meane of ordinarie iustice: Whosoeit when one of them doth kill another, or else doth kill a Cowe, (which amongst them is taken for a greate sinne, for that they worshippe them) or sleepe or eate with a countrey woman, or speake euill of the king.

The Calicutians kill no kine for they worship them.

The



## The Conquest

Then will the king, hauing true information of any of these offences, giue out his warrant in writing vnder his owne hand, directed to one Nayre, commaunding him therby, that he with two or thre other, doe forthwith kill the Nayre, that hath so offended and sinned contrarie to the Law: By vertue of which warrant, they be to cut him with their swordes, wheresoeuer they doe finde him, and when he is dead, they hang vpon him the kings writing, to the end that all men may know and vnderstand wherefore they killed him: These Nayres cannot take their weapons, nor enter into any combat, before they be armed knights: when they attaine to the age of seauen yeares, they be forthwith set to learne to play at all weapons; & to the ende they should be very perfect, their Maisters doe hale and wrest the ioyntes of their armes, and after ward they teache them their sence such as be apt for the same: The weaponnes that are most vled amongst them be Swords and Targets. The Maisters which teach them, be graduats in the weapons which they teach, and they be called in their language Panycars. They be reuerenced amongst the Nayres, & euery scholler of theirs whatsoeuer, although he be olde, or if he be a great noble man, shall at all times when he seeth him, doe to him reuerence and worship, and this by lawe is ordeined: and further all of them are bound to take at their hands a lesson two monthes in euery yeare, during they liue: By reason whereof they be very perfect and skilful in theyr weapons, and for that cause they greatly esteeme of themselves.

When any of them will be an armed knight, hee then goeth well accompanied with all his kinred and friends, & presenteth himselfe before the king, to whome he first offereth threescore Jamons of golde, which is a certeine kinde of money amounting to the value of thre crownes. Whereupon the king doth immediatly aske him, whether he will keepe and obserue the order and custome of the Nayres? Whereunto he answereth and saith, yea. Then hee commaundeth to put about him a sword, and laien his right hand

hand upon his head, saith certaine words as though he wold pray ouer him, which he vttereth so softly, as none can heare the same. Afterward he imbraceth him, saing in his language these words folowing, which in our tongue, doth signifie or meane: Haue a regard to keepe these Bramenes and their King. This being done, the Nayre doth fall down and worshop the King, and from thence forth he remaineth made Knight. These Nayres when they yeelde themselves to liue and serue any King or Noble man, they binde themselves to dye with him, and for him: which bond they doe so well obserue and inuolably keepe, that if their Master in any warre or otherwise be slaine, they will fight untill they are killed, which hath done the same acte, and if at that instant they cannot accomplish their wills, for that they were not present at the deede doing, then will they goe afterward and seeke them out, and neuer leaue them till they be killed by some manner of deuise. They be great southslayers, they haue good dayes and bad dayes, they worshop the Sun, the Moone, the fire, and the King, and the first that they do meet in going forth of their house in the morning: they doe easily beleue whatsoever vanitie. The Diuell is oftentimes in them, but they say it is one of their Gods or Pagodes, for so they call him: but whosoener or whatsoever it be, it inforseth them to vtter terrible words & speeches, which the King doth beleue. And the Nayre in whome the Diuell is so entred, goeth with a naked sword before the King, altogether quaking & trembling, giuing himself cuts & wounds saing, I am such a God, and I am come to tell thee such a thing, & in this manner he vseth himselfe, crieng out lyke a mad man: and if the King make any doubt of that he saith & doth not presently giue credite to his speache, then doth he rore & send forth greater cryes & giue himselfe greater cuts, untill such time the King doe beleue him. There be other linages of people of Malabars, which are of diuers sects & customes, whereof to speake were ouer tedious, & too long to declare: all which doe obaye those Kings, (the Moors onely except) which by reason of the great customes they

their god  
or the di-  
uell is ma-  
ny times  
in them.



## The Conquest

paye for their Merchandise, are in great estimation among them.

¶ How the Captaine generall sent one of his banished men to Calycut, and how a Moore of Tunis came and spake with him, by whose meanes he sent a messenger to the King of Calycut, and how he returned answere to the Generall, cap. 15.



**T**he Captaine generall being come to an Anko without the Barre or Recife of Calycut, he sent one of his banished men in the selfe same Almaydes or boats which they brought thether, for two respects: the one to see what Countrey it was: the other to make tryall how we should be receiued, because we wer Christians, believing also y the people there wer christened: & when this banished man was landed, ther came immediately a great number of people to see him as a stranger: they asked of the Malabars which went with him, what he was? Who answered, that they deemed him to be a Moore, and that he came with those which are in the three shippes they doe see without the Barre at Anko. Whereof they of Calycut greatly meruailed, for that his apparrell was far different from that which the Moores y come from y Straights, doe vse to weare. Thus flocked about him much people, & some that had the Algaruia tongue, spake vnto him, but he hauing no vnderstanding thereof could not nor did make any answer or speaches vnto them, at which also they in like manner greatly meruailed, for that being a Moore (as they deemed) he did not vnderstand the Algaruia language: Neuerthelesse going with him in this manner, and verely yet believing he was a Moore, they caried him to the house of two Moores, which were naturally borne in Tunys in Barbarie, and were then come to dwell in Calicut. To whom being brought, one of them whose name was Bontaybo could speake the Spanish tongue, & did well knowe the

Bontaybo  
a Moore of  
Barbarie,  
dvvelling  
in Calicut

the Portugals as he said afterward, having seen them in  
Tunys in the time of y<sup>e</sup> King Don Ioan in the ship called  
Lareyna which the same King sent thither manye times  
to seeke for such things as he and his subiects hadde neede  
of. And as soone as the banished man was entered into  
their house, the Moze spake vnto him and sayd: I giue thee  
to the Dinell, who brought thee hether, which words was  
uttered in y<sup>e</sup> Spanish tongue. And after he asked him what  
way he had gone and trauailed, that he was come to this  
place: wherevnto the banished man answered & told him,  
shewing also, how many ships the Generall had ther, where-  
at Bontaybo marvelled, and wondered how they could come  
by Sea thither. Then he asked him what they sought so  
farre off? And he answered that they came to seeke Chri-  
stians and spices. Whereouer Bontaybo asked why y<sup>e</sup> Kings  
of Fraunce and Spaine, & the Duke of Venice did not also  
sende thither: Whereunto the banished man made answer,  
that y<sup>e</sup> King of Portingale would not giue his consent they  
should so doe: Bontaybo repliing thereto, sayde, that he did  
well & wisely therein. Thus hauing talked a while, he gave  
him very good entertainment, and commaunded to giue him  
certaine Cakes, made of the flower of Wheate, which the  
Malabars do call Apes, and with the same honnie. After he  
had well eaten, Bontaybo aduised him to go to the ships, &  
said he would goe with him, (as indeede he did) to see y<sup>e</sup> Cap-  
taine generall. And being come to the Admirall which was  
then entered, Bontaybo then began to say to the General in  
Spanish: Good lucke, good lucke, many Rubies, many Eme-  
raults: thou art bound to giue great thanks to God, for  
that he hath brought thee where there is all kinde and sorts  
of spices, stones, and all the riches of the worlde.

When they hearde him so saye, they all marvelled  
greatlye thereat, for they before would not haue be-  
lieued, that there hadde bene anye man so farre off  
from Portingale, that could vnderstande theyr lan-  
guage.

Wherefore with weeping teares which they then plentiful-



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ly shed for ioye and pleasure they had conceined; as well for the same, as also for their safe and happie arriual there, they then gaue to God most humble and heartie thanks through whose onely fauour, good will, and pleasure, that good lucke and great good benefite, had happened to them. And then the Generall imbraced Bontaybo, and caused him to sit downe by him, asking him if he were a Christian, and how he came to Calicut? For aunswere whereto he told him of whence he was, and what he was, and how he came to Calicut by the way of Cayro, also he shewed him by what meanes he came to knowledge of Portingals, and that alwaies he had bene a friend to them, for that in all respects & at all times, their doings & manners appeared to him to be good and worthy of friendship. Finally he sayde, that as he had in time past bene a friend to them, so would he now at this present continue his good will, and was ready and would be to doe all that in him was to pleasure & further them, and the effect of their purpose in comming thether. The Captaine generall gaue him great thanks, and promised to recompence him very liberally in respect of that his good will, and for any pleasure or friendship he shoulde thenceforth shew to him and his company, he shuld be wel assured to be thankfully considered of. Declaring also that he was the most ioyfull man of all the world to finde him there, and to haue him for a friend and an ayde, verely believing that God had sent him thether, to giue an ende to the enterprize of the voyage, which he so desired in discovering of those Indias, and had entered into, and passed through so many dangers by long tract of time to attaine vnto the same, and now notwithstanding his arriual ther, he thought to haue but small fruite of his traualle, without his helpe & friendly furtheraunce.

Then he requested him to declare, what manner of man the King of Calicut was, and whether he thought he would receiue him with good will as an Embassadour from the King of Portingale.

Bontaybo aunswered, that the King of Calicut, was

was a very good man and of an honourable disposition, and that he no doubt would receiue him gladly, for Embassadour, from a straunge king, especially if his comming were to settle and intreate for establishment of tract or trade of merchandise in Calicut, and had brought with him any kinde of Merchandise for that purpose: For (said Bontaybo) as there doth grow great aduantage and profit by custome thereof to the king, so is the same indeede the very principall rents or reuenues he hath for his maintenance: Moreover he informed the Generall that the king at that instant was in a certaine village five leagues from Calicut, scituated along the coast, named Panane, whether he aduised him to send vnto him, & to declare of his arriuell and comming thether. The Generall very well liking of the speeches and aduise of Bontaybo, did therefore giue vnto him certaine gifts, and sent with him two of his men in message to the king of Calicut, requesting Bontaybo to direct them on their waye to Panane, which he accordingly did. These messengers being now come befoze the king, one of them whose name was Fernan Martyn, by an interpreter which he had, declared vnto him, that he came from his Captaine who is arrived in the port of Calicut with certaine shippes, and is come thether from the king of Portingale, of purpose to bring him letters, which the same Captaine is readie to come and present vnto him, if it so stode with his good liking and pleasure, whereof to vnderstand he then had sent him, and his fellows there present. The king hearing this message, commaunded befoze he would make answer thereto, to giue to each of them a certaine peece of linnen cloth made of Cotten, and two of silke which were very good, and euery such wherewith he was accustomed to girdle himselfe: And after these peeces were so giuen them, he then demanded of Fernan Martyn, what king that was which hadde sent him those letters, and how faire from thence his kingdom was, wherevnto Fernan answered and fully informed him touching that demanda, declaring also that he was

The king of Calicut cuts greatest reuenue risen by custome of Merchandise.

Certaine messengers sent by the Captaine generall to the king of Calicut



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a Christian prince, & that all those whom he had sent were christians, hauing past many troubles and daungers vpon the sea, before their arriuall there at Calicut. The king hearing all the discourse of their voiage (wherof Fernan Martynes somewhat at large informed him) did greatly maruell at the same, & shewed himselfe to be right glad, & a prince of so great a power as the king of Portingale was, & being also a christian, would send an Ambassadour to him: And therefore he sent word to the Generall that he and his companie were hartely welcome into his Countrey, requiring him to bring his ships to an anko<sup>r</sup> nere, to a village named Padarane (which is somewhat beneath the place where they first came to an anko<sup>r</sup>) being a far better harbour then that of Calicut, which is an open roade & very dangerous for the ships: And appointed that from thence, the General should go by land to Calicut, wher he wold be to speak with him: And therw<sup>th</sup> he sent a Pilot, who conuaided the ships to the port of the same village, howbeit when he had conducted them to the bar thereof, the Generall woulde not enter so far within the same, as y<sup>e</sup> Pilot would gladly haue had him to haue done, fearing indeed that some thing might afterward happen to his preiudice, if he should giue ouer farre credit to those people, & came within the compasse of anye their forces, wherin he dealt very aduisedly and wisely, preuented such iniury as was offered him.

How the king of Calicut sent for the Captaine Generall and after what sort he was carried to Calicut. Cap. 16.



The Captaine being come nere to this harbour, his dispatch was sent him from y<sup>e</sup> Countrell of Calicut, in y<sup>e</sup> which there was signified y<sup>e</sup> he was come to Pandarane, by the kings commaundement, with other noble men, for to beare him company vnto Calicut, and therefore he might at all times when y<sup>e</sup> it should please

please him, disimbarke himself: But for y<sup>e</sup> the day was past  
y<sup>e</sup> Captaine General excused himselfe as at y<sup>e</sup> present, & also  
y<sup>e</sup> he would first take counsell of his Captaines, & other the  
principall of his flect, touching his landing, who being all  
ioyned together, said vnto them, y<sup>e</sup> he minded to go to see y<sup>e</sup>  
king of Calicut, & to settle there a trade, and a perpetuall  
friendship. Against the which his going, his brother repug-  
ned, alledging y<sup>e</sup> it was not conuenient y<sup>e</sup> he shuld so doe.

For albeit y<sup>e</sup> they were christians, yet y<sup>e</sup> ther were amongst  
them many Moores, which were to be feared least thy wold  
procure his destruction, since that they were his mortall  
enimies. For when that they doe remember how those of  
Monsambicke and Mombassa, for onely passing by theyr  
ports, would haue killed them all: What should they looke  
for, of those of Calicut, knowing that they will mirture  
themselves with you & yours: quoth he, you seeking to haue  
the trade where they haue the same, & so to diminish this  
their profit and gaine: He tolde him therefore that it is the  
somer to be belaued, that they wold procure with all their  
force possible to destroy him, yea, although they knew that  
the beginning and end of the same did depend vpon his  
death, and that therefore there woulde not lacke wayes  
to put the same deuice in execution, who being once dead,  
for all the grieve the king shoulde take therewith, yet hee  
could not raise him againe to lyfe. And that so much the  
more they being as it were naturall inhabitauntes there,  
and he a mere stranger.

Whereouer who doth know what the king doth passe for his  
death, and what shall become of them all after the same is  
procured. And if so be that they shuld be cast away altoge-  
ther, then were all theyr trauaile lost. To excuse all this,  
and that they might remaine vpon this good assurance,  
it were very good sayd hee, that hee did not goe a shoare,  
but that hee did sende one of them, or some other, who  
might doe that which he shoulde doe, for those that are  
Captaines in especiall y<sup>e</sup> Generalls shoulde not aduenture  
themselves in such daungers, but where there were  
such

Moores  
mortall  
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ans

Princes &  
Generalls  
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be careful  
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respect of  
their  
place and  
charge.



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such great necessitie, that they coulde not otherwise excuse themselves. Of this minde were all the rest of the compaignie, vnto whome the Captaine Generall answered, that although he knew or did vnderstand y<sup>e</sup> by his comming it were present death vnto him, yet he woulde not let but goe and visit the King of Calicut, and the rather to see whether he woulde settle a friendship and trade there, and to haue out of his Citie, Spices and other commodities, for that the same (at our arriuall in Portingale) might represent as a witnesse the discouerie of Calicut. For if so be that at the end of so long a time God did returne vs thether with out: then said he, it woulde be hard to be beleued that wee had discouered Calicut: And our credit and honour woulde stand in suspence or ballance, vntill such time there should come persons of credit from thence, that shoulde declare that to be true which we had affirmed. Wherefore doe you not thinke but y<sup>e</sup> I had rather die then suffer so long time, as we haue spent, and are lyke to spend, and others shall come to discouer y<sup>e</sup> truth of our seruice: so that in the meane while, those that are enuious, should iudge our trauaile as it shuld please them, certainly I had rather die then to tarrie vpon the same: Much moze friends I doe not aduenture my selfe to so great a daunger of death as you do surmise, neither yet that they should remaine in so great daunger, as you doe presuppose, for I goe to a Countrey where there are Christians and to talke with a king, which is desirous that vnto his Citie should come many Merchants, for the profit that doth arise thereby vnto him: for the moze Merchants that do resort vnto it, the moze wil be his profit. I doe not goe thether to stay there many daies that the Mozes shall haue any such time to vse any treason against me. And for so much as I doe minde to talke with the king it shall haue an end, and that within thre dayes, and in this time you may be in a readinesse: And as touching the honour and credit that I shall get by making or establishing this trade, if it please God: that he doe accept the same I will not giue it for any treasure. And the king

can settle the same with no other better then with me, for that he will esteeme me, and beare some reuerence towards me, being once knowen vnto him that I am the Captaine generall of this Fleete, and the King of Portugales Embassadour, rather then with any other person whatsoever. Furthermoze whosoever he be that shall goe in my shede, the King will thinke himselfe to be mockt, or that I do not esteeme him, as one that is worthy that I shoulde goe to speake with him, or els that I doe not trust him in his word. Besides all this, I cannot giue so large instructions to him that I should send thether, that he might doe in all things which is needfull as much as I my selfe: and if so be that for my sinnes he shoulde kill me, or take me as a prisoner, it were a great deale better for me that ther shuld chaunce to me all this for doing of my duetie, then to remaine algyue, and not to doe the same. And you my friendes remaining in the Sea and in good ships, as soone as you shall heare that any of these things shall chaunce vnto me, get you hence, and carrie newes of this our discouerie, and as touching this, let there be no farther talke, for that I by the grace of God will goe to Calicut to see the King. When that his determination was perceiued, they all assented that they were contented with his going: and thereupon they appointed him twelue of his men to goe with him, that is to say, Diego Dias his Secretarie and Fernan Martines the interpretour, Iohn de Sala, which was afterward Treasurer of the house of the Indias, &c. So that with him in all they were thirtene. They appointed also that in his absence ther should remaine for Captaine generall his brother. Also he gaue commaundement that he shoulde not suffer any man to come aboard his ship, and all those that were desirous to goe aboard to commaund them to remaine in their boate or Almadias. Moreover he left order with Nicholas Coello, that he shoulde come euery day with his boate as neere vnto y shore as he could. These things being settled, the next day after being Mundaye, the xxviij. of May, the Captaine generall did imbarke himself with those twelue befoze rehearsed,

The Generall determined to goe to Calicut



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The Cap-  
taine Ge-  
nerall go-  
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they all being apparailled in the best attire that they had, & their boat es furnished with much ordinaunce, flagges, and trumpets, which went alwaies sounding, vntill such time y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general came to land, wheras y<sup>e</sup> Catuall was tarrieng for him, being accompanied with 200 Nayres, which attended ther continually: besides many others y<sup>e</sup> were not of that company, & besides many also, y<sup>e</sup> were of y<sup>e</sup> towne. The Captaine generall being disembarked, was ioyfully receiued of y<sup>e</sup> Catuall, & of y<sup>e</sup> others y<sup>e</sup> did accompany him, as though they were very glad of his comming, & after y<sup>e</sup> he was thus receiued, he was taken into an Andoꝛ, which y<sup>e</sup> King of Calicut had sent to bring him vpon, for y<sup>e</sup> in this countrey they are not accustomed to goe a horsebacke, but in these Andoꝛs, which are like vnto a horse, saving y<sup>e</sup> they are wout any coner ouer them, & almost plaine, y<sup>e</sup> sides therof are also very low. Each of these Andoꝛs, when they will occupie y<sup>e</sup> same, are caried w<sup>th</sup> 4. men vpon their sholders, which also doth run post w<sup>th</sup> the, at such time as y<sup>e</sup> king & noble men do make any great iourney, or if so be y<sup>e</sup> they wil go a great ground in a small time: for they may trauell in y<sup>e</sup> same either sitting or lieng, as they wil themselves. Also ther go with these certain footmen, which carie with them hats, wherewith to couer those y<sup>e</sup> go in these Andoꝛs, which they do call Bueys, so that by this meanes, they are kept from y<sup>e</sup> sunne & the raine, ther are also other Andoꝛs, y<sup>e</sup> which haue ouer the a cane bowled like vnto a hope, which for y<sup>e</sup> they are made very light, may easily carie those 2. men. The Captaine generall being moued in this Andoꝛ, departed w<sup>th</sup> the Catuall, who was carried in another Andoꝛ, to a towne called Capocate, but all y<sup>e</sup> rest of the cōpany went asote, the people of the country was cōmaunded by the Catuall to carie all such apparel as our mē had brought vp w<sup>th</sup> the, which was ther redeliuered vnto the, & being in Capocate, they staid to refresh themselves: where the Captaine generall being in one house & the Catuall in another they did eate, & to al our men was giuen to eat sodden fish, w<sup>th</sup> rice & butter, besides fruits of y<sup>e</sup> countrey, which differ from ours very much, yet they are very good. The one  
soꝛt

the fruits  
of Calicut

sort of these is called Lacas, and the other Mangas, howbeit they haue figs also. The water y they did drinke, was very excellent, as good as any in Portingal. Thus after they had eaten, they went againe to imbarke themselves, for that they shuld go by a riuer, which from thence runneth into the sea: the Captaine generall did imbarke himselfe with his company into 2. Alinadias, lieng the one close to the other, which in y countrey they did call Enfangada. The Catuall w<sup>th</sup> his traine were imbarked in many others, and the people that came to the riuers side to see and view our men were without number, for so much as that countrey is well inhabited. And after that they had gone in this riuer about a leagur, and that along the shores side, they saw lieng a ground many great ships, the Captaine generall with the Catuall beinge disimbarked, did returne to their Andors, and following their waye, there resorted alwayes about them thousandes of people to see them, wherein they tooke such a felicitie that the very women also with their childzen hanging at theyr backs, did not feele the waye they went in, following to feed their eyes. From this place which I haue made mention of, the Catuall did carrie him vnto a certaine Pagode of their Idolls, into which when they were entred, he told him that the same was a Church of great deuotion, which the Captaine generall beleued to be true, & to be some church of the Christians, & therfore he gaue the more credit therevnto, the rather for that he saw y ouer the principall doore therof, there hanged seven little bells, & afoze the same there was a pillour made of wier, the which was as high as the mast of a ship, byon the top thereof there stode a wether cock, made likewise of wier. This church was as great as a good Honestary, and was made all of free stone, and couered or vaulted ouer with bricke, which gaue an outwarde shewe, as though within side it shoulde be of verie faire workmanship. Our Captaine was very glad to see the same, for that he thought himselfe to be among Christians, and entering within this Church with the Catuall, they were receiued by certaine men, naked from the girdle vpwarde,



## The Conquest

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and from thence downe to the knee, covered with certaine linnen cloth made of cotten, with y<sup>e</sup> which their arme holes were covered also, without any thing vpon their heads, and vpon their left sholders they had certaine number of thrids, which came vnder their right sholders, much like as the Priests were wont to weare their stoles here amongst vs, when they went to Masse. These men are called Cafres and are Gentiles, which serue in Malabar in their Pagodes, who with a sprinkle toke water out of a certaine fountaine & threwo the same vpon the Captaine generall & vpon the Captuall and on the rest of the companye. After all this they gaue them Saunders in powder to cast the same vpon their heads as they did here their Ashes, & as also they shuld do y<sup>e</sup> like vpon y<sup>e</sup> bratons of their armes, but they could not do so, by reason of their apparrel which they had on, but yet they did not let to doe it on their heads: so going about this Church, they saw many Images painted vpon y<sup>e</sup> wal, where of some ther wer y<sup>e</sup> had great teeth, which appeared to be so monstrous y<sup>e</sup> they were of an inch of length without their mouth. Others ther wer y<sup>e</sup> had foure armes, & therewith wer so ill fauoured, that they seemed to be very diuells, y<sup>e</sup> which sight made our men stand in doubt, whether the same wer a Church of Christians or no. Being come afoze the Chappel which stood in y<sup>e</sup> midst of their Church, they perceiued y<sup>e</sup> the same had a certain little roose, made much after y<sup>e</sup> manner of a towre, y<sup>e</sup> which was also builded of free stone, & in a parte of this roose ther was a doze made of wire, by y<sup>e</sup> which a ma might enter into it: the going by to the same towre, was by a staire of stone: within this towre, which indeed was somewhat dark, was inclosed in y<sup>e</sup> wall a certain Image y<sup>e</sup> which our men beheld a far off, for y<sup>e</sup> they would not suffer the to go nere y<sup>e</sup> same, saing y<sup>e</sup> ther was none y<sup>e</sup> could go thether, but those y<sup>e</sup> wer Cafres, holobeit they made a signe to the Image, naming y<sup>e</sup> same our Lady, giuing therby to vnderstand that it was hir Image. The Captaine generall supposing the same to be true, fell vpon his knees, with y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> company making their praiers: but one whose name was Iohn de Sa-

Is, being in doubt whether y<sup>e</sup> same church wer of christians or not, for y<sup>e</sup> he saw so mostrous Images painted on y<sup>e</sup> wals, as he sel on his knees said, If this be y<sup>e</sup> diuel, I worship god. The Captaine Generall that heard him say so, looking vpon him laughing. The Catuall and his companie as they came befoze this Chappell, did fall downe flat vpon the ground with their hands befoze them, and this they did thre times, and after ward they arose and made their praisers standing.

¶ How and after what sort the Captaine Generall was receiued in Calicut, & how hee tolde the king his message which he carried. Cap. 17.



From this place he went forward on his way, vntill such time he came to Calicut, and at the entering of the same, they carried him w<sup>th</sup> the rest of his company to another Pagode, lyke vnto that which he had seene befoze, and when that he would haue entered into the Citie, the people were so many, as well of those that came forth of the same for to see our men, as also of those that went with him, that for the multitude of them, he could not goe in the streets, insomuch that the Generall meruailed to see so many people: and when as hee sawe himselfe to be there, he gaue God great thanks, for bringing him vnto that Citie, most humbly desiring him, so to guide him, that he might returne to Portingale, with his whole request & desire. After that he had gone awhile in that streete, into which he entered, for that the people wer so many that he could not passe through it, insomuch that those that did carry him vpon his Ando, were driuen to go with the Catuall into a house. Whether came to beare the Captaine Generall companie, the Catualls brother who was a noble man, and sent by the kings commaundement to accompanie him to the kings pallaice, who also brought with him many Nayers, and befoze them went manye Trumpets and Sagbuts, vpon the which they went all



## The Conquest

The de-  
scriptiō of  
the kings  
pallace.

sounding. And also there was one Nayre which carried a Calener which he shot of, now & then. After y<sup>e</sup> the Captaine generall & this noble man was thus ioyfully receiued, they toke their way straight to y<sup>e</sup> pallace, with a great noise, y<sup>e</sup> which those instruments & the people together made, which after y<sup>e</sup> the Catuals brother was come, gaue place & followed after them, with as great obedience as if y<sup>e</sup> king had ben there in his owne person. There went along with thē fully thre thousand men with their weapons, besids those y<sup>e</sup> stood vpon y<sup>e</sup> penthouses, & at their dozes, which wer wout number. The Captaine generall was very glad to see how well he was receiued, & said vnto those y<sup>e</sup> he caried w<sup>th</sup> him, with a mery countenance, how litle do they thinke in Portingale of this our gret receiuing, & with this they came to y<sup>e</sup> kings pallace an houre befoze y<sup>e</sup> Sun set. The kings pallace (leaving aside y<sup>e</sup> the same was made of earth) was very great, which seemed to be of a goodly building, for y<sup>e</sup> great multitude of trees which did appeare betwene y<sup>e</sup> houses, & these wer standing in goodly gardēs, in y<sup>e</sup> which wer plesāt flowrs, sweet hearbs, & fountains of water to recreate y<sup>e</sup> king w<sup>th</sup>all, for y<sup>e</sup> he neuer goeth frō this pallace til y<sup>e</sup> he departeth from Calicut. Out of this pallace there came sundry Caimales, & other noble men to receiue y<sup>e</sup> captain general, which brought him to a certein gret court y<sup>e</sup> was right befoze y<sup>e</sup> gates, & frō thence they wēt into 4. other fensual yards or courts. At y<sup>e</sup> gate of each of which, ther wer .x. porters, which gates they passed w<sup>th</sup> giuing y<sup>e</sup> people many & sundry blows, which y<sup>e</sup> porters bestowed vpon thē to make roome, y<sup>e</sup> we might go in: & being come to y<sup>e</sup> last gate which was in y<sup>e</sup> house where the king himself was, ther came forth an old little man, which was Bramene Maior of y<sup>e</sup> kings house, who embraced the captaine general, & caried him in w<sup>th</sup> those y<sup>e</sup> wer with him. Bramene Maior is the kings high Priest, & the chiefest of the religious mē of his gentility. At this entring the people wonderfully pressed theselues to go in, for that they see the king but by great chaunce, as going but few times abroad out of his pallace, & wold therfore haue entered w<sup>th</sup> our mē to see him. The multitude was so great y<sup>e</sup> there wer some of then

the stifled, as also ther had ben two of our mē so vſed, if ſo be  
 y they had not gone befoze, & it had ſmally profited to lay  
 on y people w their ſtaues to y end to make moze rōme, if  
 ſo be ther had not ben many of the hurt, wherw they gaue  
 place y our mē might enter. Moreover thoſe noble mē which  
 did accompany the Captaine general, at this third gate en-  
 tred into the houſe wher the king was, the which was ve-  
 ry great: all the ſame was cōpaſſed about w ſeats made of  
 timber, one aboue y other as the Theatres are: the floze of  
 the ſame was al couered ouer w grēne veluct, & the hang-  
 ings about the wals were of ſilke of ſundry colours. The  
 king himſelf was of colour bzolwn, & of a great ſtature & of  
 good yerres, he was lieng vpon his Estrado y which was co-  
 uered ouer w a cloth of white ſilke & gold & a rich eſtate  
 ouer him, Estrado is a ſeat made of bwods. On his head he  
 had a night cap, made much like vnto a ſalet, after y old ſort  
 which was couered ouer w ſtone & pearle, & in his ears he  
 ware iewels of y ſame ſort. He had vpon him a iacket of fine  
 cotten, y buttons wherof were of great pearle, & the batten  
 holes were of gold threed, he had about his middle a white  
 cloth made of y ſoſaid cottē, y which reched down vnto his  
 knēs, y fingers of his hāds & toes wer ful of rings of gold,  
 in y which were ſet very fine ſtone, & on his armes & legs  
 many bzacelets of golde: hard to this Estrado, there was a  
 certein yelwer y which had a high ſoot wzought al of gold, &  
 is of y making of y Flanders cups, & that plaine, albeit they  
 are greater & not ſo dēpe: in this was y Vitele which the  
 king doth chaw in his mouth, w ſalt & Arca, which is an  
 apple no bigger the a nut in Conſerua. This is eatē in all  
 y Indias, for y the ſame doth make a good bzeth, dꝛieth y ſto-  
 mack & killeth y thirſt, which being chawed in pāces hē  
 thꝛoweth y ſame out of his mouth, & taketh another. And  
 for y the king ſhuld not ſwallow y ſame downe, there is  
 prepared a veſſel of gold for him to ſpit in, which is as big  
 or litle bigger the a diſh, hauing a ſoot alſo of gold. Alſo he  
 hath a fountaine of gold which is ful of water wherw hē  
 waſheth his mouth, when he had made an end of chawing  
 this Vitele which he is accuſtomed to take.

The de-  
 ſcription  
 of y kings  
 preſence  
 chamber.

the kings  
 Vitele.

This



## The Conquest

This Vitele is ministred vnto him by an olde man which standeth hard by the Estrado, all the others that are in this place holde their left hands afoze their mouths, to the end their breath should not come where the king is, who taketh the same for great discourtesie, to spit or to sciese, & therefore there is none that breatheth afoze the king. The Captaine General being come into this house, made reuerence to the king, after the vse of the Countrie, which is to stowe or bowe downe thre times, lifting vp his hands as one that praiseth God. The king immediatly made signes vnto him as willing him to drawe nere vnto him, and commaunded him to sit downe in one of those seates which I haue spoken of, who being thus set, the rest of his men did enter and made him the lyke reuerence, whom the king commaunded likewise to sit down right ouer against him, and that there should be giuen them water for their hands, that they might with the same refresh themselves sinte they were very hot, for although it was winter yet it was hot. After y they had washed their hands, he commaunded to be giuen them Figges and Iacas to eate, and that forthwith, which they did receiue with a good will. The king was very glad to see them eate, who was very earnest in looking vpon them, and did laugh thereat. Afterward hee tooke occasion to talke with the old man that ministred vnto him this Vitele, and in the meane time our men did cal for water, for that they were a thirst, the which was giuen them to drinke by an Pewer of golde, and when our men did vnderstand y order of their drinking was to hold their cup of height ouer their mouths, for y the Malabars do take the same for an iniurie to touch y cup with their lips, they did therfore hold the same ouer their mouth, in that order that part of the water fell into their throates & made some of them to cough, & vnto others it fell besides their mouths, and vpon their faces, which did runne downe vpon theyr breasts. All this the king was very gladde to see, who looking towards the Captaine Generall, spake vnto him by an interpretour, willing him to speak vnto those that were there

The custom  
in  
drinking.

there, & to tell them his pleasure, & likewise to report vnto him of theirs, with this the Captaine General was nothing contented, for y he thought the same a disgracing vnto him, & answered by y interpreter y he was the king of Portugales Ambassadour, which was a mighty king, & that the christian princes did not vse to receiue their imballage by a third person, but by themselves, & that befoze very few, & those y were of great credit. And for that he did accustome the same order in y other countries from whence he came, he wold not therfore utter his imballage but only vnto y king himself, vnto which the king answered y he liked wel therof, & that it shuld be so obserued, & immediatly he commaunded the Captaine Generall & Fernan Martines to be carried vnto another chamber which was adorne with y like estate as the other was, & as wel hanged, & after y the Captaine general was ther, y king came thether also, but our men remained where they wer first, & this was about the Sun set. The king as soon as he was come into this chamber went to his Estrado, there came no more with him but his interpreter & the Bramene Mayor, & the olde man which doth alwayes giue this Vitecle vnto y king, & controler of his house. The king & they being ther together, he asked of y captaine general of what part of y world he was & what he wold haue: wher vnto he answered, that he was an Ambassadour of a christian king of y Occident part, & of a kingdome called Portingale, besides many others, in so much y he is of a great power both in possessions & people, & much more in riches, & all other things necessarie, more then any other king of those parts, & hath so ben for y space of these lx. yeres, so y those y haue ben kings his predecessours, hauing the same brought vnto them, how y in the Indias there were christian kings & great noble men, in especiall y king of Calicut, they were moued the rather to send to discouer y same by their Captaines, & to make friendship with the king of y country, & to take them for brothers as reason doth bind the king his Maister now to do, & to visit them by his Ambassadors, not y he hath any need of their

The message that was sent to y king of Calicut from y king of Portugal



## The Conquest

riches, for that in his owne countries of golde & silver and other things of great value, he hath more therof then neede did require. And as for those Captaines whom he did send vnto this discoverie, they haue gone in the same a yeare or two, vntill such time as they haue consumed their victuals and without finding of that which they sought for, haue returned to Portingale, & haue in vaine spent great sums of money. But the king Don Manuel which reigneeth as now, & is desirous to make an end of this enterprize, which was begun so long time ago, for that to them ther shuld not lack sufficient victuals, as there did vnto the others before, did therfore giue him three shippes that were laden therewith, commaunding him not to returne to Portingale without the discovery of that king of the christians which is Lord of Calicut. And if so be y he shuld returne without bringing him relation therof, he would then commaund his head to be cut off. And further he willed him y if so be y he should chaunce to arrive at the place where the king was, so deliuer him two letters, which he wold present vnto him the next day, for y it was then somewhat late. And also that he should tell him that he was his friend & brother, requesting him that since that he doth send so far of to seeke him out, that in recompence thereof he would accept of his kindred, and friendship, and also that he woulde send him his Ambassadour for the better confirmation of the same, and y frō thence forth they wold visit one the other with their embassadours, as it is accustomed amongst christian kings. The king shewed himselfe to bee well pleased with this Embassage, for he tolde the Captaine Generall that hee was very well welcome. And since that the king of Portingale would be his friend & brother, he would be the like vnto him, and vpon the same wold send him his Ambassadour, which thing the Captaine Generall did desire most earnestly, for that he durst not shew himselfe afoze y king his Master wout him. The king did therfore promise him so to do, & that forth with, he wold dispatch him thether. After y he was desirous to know y whole estate of y king of Por-

Am-  
bassadour  
promised  
from Calicut.

An Am-  
bassadour  
promised  
from Calicut.

Por-

Portingale peticularly, & how far of y<sup>e</sup> countrie laye from Calicut, & how long he had ben vpon that voiage. And for y<sup>e</sup> part of the night was well spent, y<sup>e</sup> king willed him to rest, demanding of him first, whether he would goe lye amongst the Moores or amongst the Christians, who answered that he wold lye with neither of them, but alone, & by himself. The king vpon his answere commaunded a certein Moore which was his factor to go & accompanie y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general, & commaunded to giue him all things y<sup>e</sup> wer necessary. How the Captaine Generall was minded to sende a present to the king, but his company would not consent to the same, & how the Moores began to bring the Captaine generall out of credit with the king. cap. 18.

**T**he Captaine generall being dispatched to go toward his lodging (although y<sup>e</sup> foure houres of the night were past) the Captaine & the others y<sup>e</sup> had accompanied him before, did now the like, & they all going a foot, ther fell such raine, that y<sup>e</sup> streets ran full therof, & therefore he was driuen to commaund some of his men to carry him vpon their backs, (not for the water only) but for y<sup>e</sup> it would be late or euer y<sup>e</sup> he could come to his lodging, with this y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general was so angry, y<sup>e</sup> he complained vpon y<sup>e</sup> kings Factor, demanding whether he meant to carry him about the citie all y<sup>e</sup> night or not, who answered y<sup>e</sup> he could do no otherwise, for y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> city was great & scattered, & so he carried him to his owne house, to rest himselfe a while. And afterward he gaue him a horse, vpon y<sup>e</sup> which he might ride. And for y<sup>e</sup> this horse was without a saddle, y<sup>e</sup> Captaine wold not accept the offer, saieing, y<sup>e</sup> yet rather he wold go a foot, & so he went vntill such time he came to his lodging, where those y<sup>e</sup> did accompanie him, left him in a good lodging. And before his comming, his men had brought thether his stuffe, where y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall hauing rested himselfe, & being in great ioy to see so good beginning of his businesse, determined on the next day being Tetolsdaie, to send a present to the king.



## *The Conquest*

A present  
for y<sup>e</sup> king  
of Cali-  
cut.

And for that he knew he could not lend the same, but that the Factor and the Catuall should haue the oversight thereof, did therefore sende for them that they might haue the view thereof, who being come, he shewed the same vnto them, which was foure Capusis of graine, and sixe hattes, foure bryanches of Copall, twelue Almasares, a fardell of Brasle, in the which there were seauen paces, a Chest of Sugar, two Barrels of Oyle, & two of honnie. The Factor and the Catuall hauing seene these parcels, began to laugh therat, saing, that y<sup>e</sup> same was nothing to present the king withall, for that the poorest Merchant that cometh to his port doth giue him much more then the same, wishing him that since he would needs giue him a present, to sende him some golde, for that the king woulde not accept any other thing. At this their answer the Captaine general was offended, & so he shewed himselfe to be, saing, that if so be he were a Merchant: or that his coming thither were to trade, he would then haue brought him golde: But he was no Merchant but an Ambassadour, which was the cause he brought none with him, & that this which he doth now send to y<sup>e</sup> king of Calicut, is his own goods, & not y<sup>e</sup> king his Maisters, who for that he did not certainly know that he should haue met with the king of Calicut, did therefore giue him nothing to present him withall: but at his next returne knowing for certeinie that he shall finde him, the king his Maister will send him golde, siluer, & other rich things. To this they answered and sayd that it might be so, howbeit it was accustomed in that countrie, y<sup>e</sup> whatsoeuer stranger he be that doth come & speake with the king, he sendeth him a present, which is according to y<sup>e</sup> greatnes of his estate. Vnto which the Captaine generall did reply, saing y<sup>e</sup> it was good y<sup>e</sup> their custome shuld be kept, & that for the preseruatiō of the same, he did make him this present, which is of no greater value, for the cause aboue said: And therefore he desired them to suffer him to carrie the same to the king, which if so be y<sup>e</sup> they would not let him doe that, then he would send the same backe to his shippes againe.

They

They answered him that immediately he might so do, as he last determined, for that they would not consent that the same should be carried to the King. With this answer the Captaine generall was very angry, and said unto them, that since they would not consent that he should sende that present to the King, he would therefore go himselfe & speak with him, and would now returne to his ships. This was his meaning, to enforce the King what had past about this present. They said y it was well done so to do, but for so much as they should remaine with him in the Court a good while, it were for them very necessary to goe about a little businesse in the meane space, which they will go to doe, and immediately retourne to goe with him, since that the King wold not be pleased that he should go without them: for so much as he was a stranger, and for that there were many Mozes in the Citie. The Captaine generall giuing credite to their words concerning their retourne, immediately answered them that he would tarry for their coming: but they did not returne all that daye, for that they were enemies to the Captaine generall, by reason of the Mozes, who were his enemies also, and had receiued newes what he had done in Monsambioke, and of the taking of the Sambuco in Mylynde, and that we were Christians, and that our coming was to discover Calicut. Bontaybo also told the Mozes, that Spices were esteemed in Portingale very much, and that as he iudged they wer not come to discover Calicut, but to settle there a trade, and to carrie Spices into their Countrey, in the which there is of all sorts of Merchants that come to Calicut by the way of the Straights, and great Hoies of golde and silver, and having the Trade settled there, would redowne unto the King great profite thereby. To the which words the Mozes gaue great care, and made their reckoning vpon Bontaybos speech, and allowed the same: What we being Christians and once come to settle a Trade in Calicut, their commodities then would fall of the price they were at, and so would abate the most part of their gaine. About this they layed their heads toge-

Treason  
conspired  
against  
the fleet



## The conquest

the Moors  
oratio to  
the king

ther, to worke all meanes they could possible with the king, to take the Captaine generall prisoner, and to commaunde his ships to be taken also, and to kill all our men, and this the rather, for that in no wise they should retourne to Portingale, to carry newes of Calicut. And hereupon they loved those that were in credit with the king, and went by to him, and one in the name of them all, said vnto the king: That he shoulde not deceiue himselfe with our men, for that the Captaine Generall was no Embassadour but a theefe, that went to rob, which they knew for most certaine by their Factors, which had certified them, that as soon as we were come to Monsambicke, wher the Xequ went to visite the Captaine generall aboard his shippe, and sent him presents, and established with him friendship, and also giuing him a Pilot to carrie him to Calicut, whether he said that he would goe. He after this shot his Ordinaunce at the towne, with the which he killed of his Subiects, and tooke certaine Sambucos laden with Merchants, and handeled both him and his like vnto Enemies. And being departed from thence to Mombassa, likewise vnder y<sup>e</sup> coloz of friendship, saieing that he was bound towarde Calicut, the king thereupon tooke occasion to send to visite the Captaine generall aboard his ship, requesting him to enter into his harbour, who being determined so to doe, whether that it was for that he saw within the same many ships, or y<sup>e</sup> he thought he could not make his partie good, did flye away so fast, that he left one of his Ankozs behinde him: and from thence also the Pilot ran away, which he caried from Monsambicke, for the ill lyfe which he lead with him, with whipping of him, and putting of him vnto other punishment. And being departed from Mombassa, and come nere vnto Mylynde, did take perforce a Sambuco laden with Moors, of y<sup>e</sup> which there were some that dyed in the battaile, & others that are yet aliuie remaining captiues. And for that those that were captiues willed him to carrie them to Mylynde, saieing, that there they woulde giue him a newe Pilot to carrie him to Calicut, by that meanes onely he came thether. And hauing there

there by the King of Mylynde bene receiued very well, yet the Captaine generall would no moze come a lande, fearing the hurts which he had done, and taking the Mores prisoner which the King had sent to visit him, and would not deliver him, untill such time that he had a Pilot sent him. Where by it might well be considered, that if so be that he were an Embassadour and were come to maintaine peace, he would neuer haue vled those disorders, but wold haue brought the King a present with him. Of this his demeanour, we giue thee to vnderstand, as our dutie bindeth vs, that now thou maist doe as thou shalt thinke good therein. With this newes the king remained amazed, and told the Mores that he would determine himselfe what shall be thought most conuenient: they seeing this, thought the same not to be the waye to cause the King to doe as they would haue him, and did afterwarde tell the Catuall thereof, who was in great credite with the King, requesting him to perswade with the King, not to receiue any such Embassage as that was, and the cause thereof the rather was, that he toke this present for so small a valew. With this the Catuall went immediately to the King, who told him what the Mores had said, to whom the Catuall gaue counsaile, to doe as the Mores had requested him: immediately the King began to change his countenance against the Captaine generall, but not so much as the same might be perceiued. But as sone as the Mores had knowledge by the Catuall concerning the present that the Captaine generall would haue sent to y<sup>e</sup> King, and that he would not consent thereunto, the Mores took occasion to go to y<sup>e</sup> Generalls lodging with a fained friendship offering themselves to instruct him what he should best doe, and talking with him they sayd, that in that Country it was accustomed that those the which came from other places about businesse with the King, shoulde bring him a present, and therefore it were good that hee did sende him one. The Captaine Generall being offended with that insurpe they hadde offered him, and that the Catuall and the Kings Factour would not consent thereunto,

The king remaineth doubtfull vvhath to doe.

The fained friendship of the Mores

did



## The conquest

did upon the same take occasion to shew them those peeces, the which he was minded for to send, who hauing seene the same, they saide to the Generall, that the Captuall and the Factor had great reason to be offended thereat, for that the same was not a present for to be sent to a King, neyther would they wissh him to send it, for that it would be iudged that by the sending thereof he did mocke the King: All this they tolde him, and as they said as friends, in shewing him their minde. Bontaybo told him also in the same manner, meruailing what was the cause he brought no other things, since there was plentie of all things in Portugale. But the Captaine generall excused himselfe, saieing: that he was not certaine that he should come to Calycut.

¶ How the Captaine generall returning spake with the King of Calycut, & how he gaue him license to returne vnto his ships. Chap. 19.



¶ This daye the Captaine generall was greatly offended, for that the Captuall & the Factor were not returned, so that he was once determined to goe to the Court with out them, yet he thought best to tarry till the next daye, on which in the afternoon they came, with whome he shewed himselfe to be offended for their long tarrying. But they did answere him touching that matter nothing at all, but talked of other things, and so went with him to the Court. And for that the King was somewhat chaunged, as I haue said, against the Captaine Generall, he did not commaund him to come into his presence in thre houres after his comming to the Courte, and then commandement was giuen ther should come no more in with the Embassadour but two of his alone men, with the which he was offended, for y he thought the same seperating from his men, was not meant well, did therefore carry

carry with him Fernan Martines, and one Diego Dias, the which was his Secretary. Being come where the King was, he did not receiue him so well as at the first time, but said vnto him with a seuerer countenance, that he had tarried for him all the day before, and he came not. The Captaine generall answered, that he did deferre his coming, for that he found himselfe weary by reason of the long way, for he was very loath to tell him the cause why he staid, for that he would not giue the King occasion to talke of the present that he would haue sent him: But it did well appeare that the Catuall and the Factor would not haue hindered the sending of the same vnto the King, but for y they well knew, he would haue made small account thereof. And also they must of force haue told him that they had seene the same. Neuerthelesse it coulde not be excused, but that the King spake vnto the Captaine generall thereof immediately saying: how that he had tolde him that he was belonging to a great and rich King, and yet he brought no present from him, but an Embassage of friendship onely, and therefore he could not tell what friendship he would haue with him, since that he did send him nothing. Vnto this the Captaine generall did answer, that there was no maruel that he did bring him nothing, for that he came not in assurance that he should make with him. But now since that he hath seene him he should well perceiue what his King & Master will hereafter sende him, if so be that God wil giue him leaue to carry newes of this his discovery. And if so be that he will giue credite to his Letters which hee did bring with him, he shall then see what the King doeth send him word of. The King in Steele of demaunding his Letters, asked him whether the King his Master did sende him to discover stones or men, and if so be that he did send him to discover men, how doth it chaunce then that hee sent him no present. And since that it is manifest that hee had brought him nothing, he sayd as then that it was told him that he had a Sancta Maria in golde, requesting of him the same.

The king quarrel-  
leth vwith  
the Cap-  
taine Ge-  
nerall.



## The Conquest

The Captaine generall was partly ashamed to see the King so altered, for that he had not brought him a present. And now moreover to demand without all honestie that Image. To whom he answered, that the Sancta Maria, which they tolde him of, was made of woode, and gylded over and not of Masse golde. And although that it were (yet would he not depart therewith) so much as the same had preserved him in the Sea, and had brought the same from his Countrey. The King did not reply upon this answer, but demanded those Letters the which the King had sent him: whereof the one was in the Portingale tongue, the other in the Arabian language. These he tolde him were sent in this order, for that the King his Master did not know whether of these two languages was understood in his Countrey. Wherefore he desired that since the Portingale language was not understood in his Countrey but the Arabian, and that there were Christians of the Indias that did understand the same, one of those might read his Letter, and the rather for that the Mozes are eninies to the Christians, of whom he was asfear, least that they should chaunge the sense thereof. The King commaunded them so to bee read: howbeit there could be founde no Indian that coulde read the same, or at the least would shew himselfe that he could read them. The Captaine generall seeing that there was no other remedy, but y the Mozes must needs read the same, was driven then to request the King, that Bontaybo might be one of them. This was done, for y as he thought he would speake and vse more truth then the others, for the acquaintance they had with him. The King commaunded the same to be read by other thre, who hauing read y same first of all to themselves, & afterward with a loude voyce declared to the King the effect thereof, the which was, That as soone as the King of Portingale had knowledge, y he was one of the mightiest Princes of all the Indias, & a Christian, he was desirous to haue a trade & a friendship with him, for that he might haue out of his Countrey, Spices, the which he hath in great plentie, for which there cometh diuers

The effect  
of y king  
of Portin-  
gales Let-  
ters to the  
king of  
Calicut

uers from many places of the world thither to buy y<sup>e</sup> same. And therefore if so be he will giue him license to sende for the same, that then he wil send vnto him from his kingdome many things which he hath not in his, as his Captaine generall and Embassadour will tell him. And if so bee that with those things he were not pleased, he will sende him money both of golde and siluer to buy them withall, & how that as well of his Merchandize as of the money, y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall could shew him part. The King hearing this, as he was desirous that for the increase of his rents there should come many Merchants vnto Calycut, shewed himself to be wel pleased with this letter, & also made vnto the Captaine generall a better countenance then he did before, & asked him what Merchandize ther were in Portingale. He named many, shewing how that of all he had brought with him part, and also of their money, requesting him license to goe aboord for the same, and in the meane while he wold leaue in his lodging foure or fise of his men. The King giuing more credite to that which he spake, then to that the Moyses had told him, said vnto him, y<sup>e</sup> he might go in a good houre, & carie his men with him, for there was no necessitie that they should remaine a lande, & that he should bring his Merchandize, & sell them as well as he could. With this license he remained well content, for (as he saw y<sup>e</sup> King make him at the first an ill countenance) so he thought y<sup>e</sup> he wold not haue giuen him y<sup>e</sup> same, & with this license he went first to his lodging, being by y<sup>e</sup> Kings commandement accompanied with the Catuall: and forsomuch as that daye was all spent, he wold not goe aboord that night.

How the Captaine generall hauing license of the King to go to his ships, was staid by the Catuall in pandarane,

Chap. 20.

**T**he next daye after, which was the last daye of Maye, the Catuall sent to the Captaine generall a Horse, howbeit without anye furniture to the same, vpon which hee might goe to Pandarane: And for that the Horse came after that order, he woulde



## The Conquest

the Moors  
make a  
new con-  
spiracie.

not accept his offer, but rather requested him for one of his Andors, the which he sent him immediately, and on the same he went to Pandarane, and all his men came after him on foot. There went to beare him company many Nayres, the Catuall did remaine in Calicut, and when the Moors had notice that he should there stay, and that the Captaine generall was gone towards his ships, supposing that he went for altogether, were soze amazed therewith, whereupon the Moors tooke occasion to goe to the Catuall, with large offers of money to pursue the Captaine generall, and vnder a fained pretence to lay hands vpon him and to take him prisoner, for that they would finde occasion to kill him; and he by this meanes shoulde remaine in no fault thereof at all. And albeit that the King would punish him for so much as he did keepe him prisoner, yet they would not feare but to get him his pardon. With this bribe and promise he did depart immediately, and went in such hast after him, that hee past by our men which did remaine behinde the Captaine generall, for that they were not able to goe much, by reason of the heate. The Catuall hauing overtaken the Captaine generall, asked him why he did make so much hast, or wher he wer now running away: this was spoken by signes, & which the Captaine generall did vnderstand, who answered him also by signes that he did runne away to flye the heat. And being come to Pandarane, for that his men as yet did not appeare, the Captaine generall tolde the Catuall that hee would not goe into the village, vntill his men were come, and there he farried for them in a house, wherein he rested himselfe from the raine: howbeit they came not vntill it was almost Sunne set, for so long he did farry for them because they had lost their waye. But after that they were come, the Captaine generall tolde them, that then it was not time to leane him; whereas if so be that they hadde come sooner, hee hadde bene as then in his Shippe.

Whereupon, immediatly hee did demaunde of the Catuall a Boate or Pinnace for to goe aborde in, who for that hee pretended an other thing, answered him,

him, that it was verie late, and that the Shippes did ride farre, and going in the night he might misse them, and therefore that it were a great deale better to tarie untill y<sup>e</sup> next day. To y<sup>e</sup> which the Captaine generall made him a plaine answer, that if so be that he would not giue him an Almadias or Pinnae, he would immediatly returne to the king & complain vpon him, forsomuch as the king had sent him to his ships, and he would seeme to stay him, which was very ill done, since that he was a Christian as they were. This was spoken with such a colour as if he would haue returned to Calicut. The Catuall for to dissemble with him the more, did make him a countenance as though he would giue him thirtie Almadias, if he would haue so many. Howbeit he tolde him that he did counsell him for the best, and to remaine. But if so be that he would goe he was contented therewith. Thus on one parte he sent to seeke out Almadias or Pinnaes, and on the other part commaunded the owners of the same to hide themselves out of the way because they shuld not deliuer the same. In the meane season while they went to seeke those Pinnaes, the Captaine Generall went along the water side, and for that he had an euill suspicion of their dealing, for that which they had done to him in Calicut, he commaunded Gonfallo Peres, a Marriner, with other two of his men, to go before as fast as they could, & see if they could finde Nicholas Coclo in his boats to wil him to keepe himself out of the way, forsomuch as he was asfeard least y<sup>e</sup> the Catuall would send to take his boats, with all those that were with him in the same. Gonfallo Peres with the other went about that businesse whilest the Catuall went in the meane season so leasely to provide for this boat, that the night drew on, so that it was three houres within night ere he coulde heare of any thing what he had done, and what for that & also to tarrye the comming of those that went to Nicholas Coclo, the Captaine Generall was the willinger to stay there that night. After that the Catuall had placed the Generall in a Mores house, tolde him that he would

Disimulation in  
y<sup>e</sup> Catuall



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gōs to ſecke out Gonſallo Peres, & the other two that went with him. Howbeit he came not backe till it was the morning. And as ſone as the Captaine Generall had ſight of him, immediately he required a boate for to goe in vnto his ſhippes. But as ſone as the Catuall heard him, he then ſpake vnto his Nayres that were there preſent in his language, who after ward willed the Captaine Generall to commaunde his ſhips to be brought nere vnto the ſhoare, and that being done he ſhoulde haue liſenſe to goe his waye, with this the Captaine Generall was ſomewhat aſearde, howbeit he aunſwered him with a ſtout ſtomacke, that as long as he was on land, he would commaund no ſuch matter to be done, ſo ſomuch as then his brother woulde iudge him to remaine in priſon, and that he did commaunde the ſame to be done more for feare then any thing els, wherby on he wold immediately depart toward Portingal, without him.

The Catu  
als pur-  
poſe ope-  
ned,

To this the Catuall made anſwere with the others that were with him, ſpeaking with a ſtoutneſſe, that if ſo be that he would not doe that which was willed him to doe, y then they will not let him go a word. To the which ſhewing himſelfe to be therewith offended, he made anſwere that if ſo be that they would not let him go, that then he wold reſturne to the king of Calicut, and make his complaint, who if then he would ſtey him in his countrie, y then he wold be verie glad to dwell in the ſame. The Catuall thereupon willed him ſo to do, & to goe to the king to make his complaint, but yet for all his ſaieng he would not conſent ther vnto, for that he had commaunded the doores of his lodging to be kept ſhut, placing within the ſame ſundry Nayres with their weapons. And if ſo that any of our men wold goe forth, there were appointed many of the entrenches to withſtand them. Neuertheleſſe it was Gods pleaſure that the Catuall durſt not venture to kill the Captaine Generall, nor yet any of his men for all that the Mozes hadde bribed him with a great ſumme of money, and for all that hee was in great credit with the king, for hee ſtoode in ſuch a feare

feare thereof, that he durst not doe it.

The cause why he required the shippes to be brought to the shoare side was, for that they being there, the Moors might the better laye the same a bord, and so take them and kill all those that were within them, which thing for that it did so manifestly appeare to the Captaine Generall, he would not commaund the Shippes to be brought anye nearer. And also for that the same was so apparaunt vnto the others of his men that were with him. They gaue him counsaile not to deale therein. The Captaine all seeing that he would not commaunde those Shippes to be brought nere the shoare, and for that there was no cause to kawe him or offer him any wrong, and seeing that he could not kill him, did then beginne to request him to bring his Sailes and the Rudder of the Shippes a lande. With that the Captaine Generall beganne to laugh, saying, that he would neither doe the one, nor yet the other, since that the king did giue him free license to goe without any condition.

And therefore hee willed him to doe what he would, and how that of all the iniuries which hee had offered him, the king shoulde be made priuie, who he knewe would doe him iustice, but yet for all this, both hee and his remained in some feare of suspect, although they did not outwardly shew the same.

At length the Captaine Generall with the rest feigning themselves to be an hungred, and that they were vnprouided of victuals, did request him that some of his men might goe to prouide the same, and hee would remaine alone, but for all that the Captaine would not agree therevnto. Nowe our men being in feare to see themselves in such a daunger. Then came Gonfallo Peres, supposing that the Captaine Generall had ben at his liberty, and that they were tarrieng for him and the others, who tolde him that hee hadde mette with Nicholas Coello, and with the others which tarried for him with theyr Boates a lande.

The Generals vncfeetual excuse.

This



## The Conquest

Gonsallo  
Peres sent  
back to  
the ships

This netues being brought to the Captaine Generall, hee was asfearb least the Catuall should know thereof, which if he had knowne indeed he would haue sent Winnaces and many men in them, for to haue taken them. Therefore did he procure by all the meanes he could, that Gonsallo Peres shoulde secretlye returne, from thence vnto their shippes, and put themselues in good order. And also that he should goe with them and informe them in what case he doth remaine. Nicholas Coello hauing receiued this dispatch, did forthwith depart, and that in hast, and immediatly after he was departed, the Catuall was aduertised thereof, who sent after him sundrie Winnaces well appointed, but yet they could not ouertake him, and therefore they returned againe vnto the Catuall. Then the Catuall after that they were come did once more request the Captaine Generall to write vnto his brother to bring the shippes nere to the lande, but he could not perswade the Captaine Generall so to doe, saieing that if he should doe it, yet his brother would not consent therevnto, and although he would, yet he knew that the companye would not. To this the Catuall did replie, that he shoulde not make him belæue that, forsomuch as he did well know that all things should be done as he would commaund. Howbeit the Captaine Generall wold write no such letter, for that he was asfearb of the bringing of the ships so nere the shoare, for the causes aboue mentioned.

¶ How the Catuall was contented that the Captaine Generall should goe to his ships, & after that what chaunted.



After this sorte they spent that day, in the which our men remained in great feare, forsomuch as in the night they were put in a great yarde that was vnderfoote layed with Brick, and compassed about with walls, & also had to keepe them far more men

men then they had in the day. Then the Captaine Generall perceiued by the countenance of his men y they feared least they shuld be departed y one from y other y next day after, as he himselfe suspected the lyke, although he gaue no outward shew thereof, but rather had a confidence, that as sone as the king of Calicut had knowledge after what sorte they were stayed, would commaunde them to be released, for that he did neuer vse with him double dealing, it was thought that the Catuall did staye the Captaine Generall after this order, because he should giue him some reward. And for that he would giue as it were no outward shew that he was offended, he would needs come to supper to him that night, at the which they hadde both Rice and Vens, which he commaunded to be bought the day befoze. The Catuall did much mervaille to see how little they did passe for their close keeping, after that sort, and of the great constancie of the Captaine Generall, that he would not commaund those shippes to be brought nere to the shoare, nor yet condescended to any of the other his request. And for that hee thought that it was but a follye to keepe him prisoner, thereby the rather to constrain him to doe it, it was Gods pleasure to put him in the head to sette him at lybertie, for feare least that the king shoulde knowe thereof, for that he gaue him free lybertie to goe to his shippes. The next day which was Saturday the second of June, hee then tolde him, that since he had certified the king that he would bring his Merchandise a land, he shuld command the same to be brought. For it was a custome that whatsoener Merchants did come to Calicut, he shuld immediatly vpon the same command his Merchandise to be brought a land and his men also, and they not to returne vnto their ships, vntill such time that they had solde the same, notwithstanding as sone as the Merchandise were come, he would then let him go aboard his ships. And although his wordes were with the Captaine Generall of small credite to send vnto his brother a certeine dispatch for them, yet he did not lette to tell him, that immediatly he would sende for them, if so

The generals constancie marueled at by the Catuall



## The Conquest

be that they wold giue him Almadias or pinnaces, in the which the same might be brought, for that his brother woulde not consent that his boates should come a lande, vntill such time that hee were there himself, with this the Catuall was content for that he thought to make himself possessor of the Merchandise, hauing a speciall hope that they were of a great value, as the Captaine Generall had tolde him.

The effect  
of the Generals  
letters  
vnto his  
brother.

When he dispatched two of his men with a letter vnto his brother, in the which he had made relation after what sorte hee did remaine. And that he had no other iniury offered him, but that he kept his lodging. And for any thing else hee was very well, willing him that hee should sende him part of the Merchandise to content the Catuall withall, that he might let him depart. And after that hee had receiued the same, if then hee would not let him go, he would then beleue that hee did keepe him prisoner, by the king of Calicuts commaundement, who hee knew would not commaund the same, except it were to take his shippes, which hee would not doe, but hauing time to arme his owne Fleet, & so to set vpon them, wherefore hee aduertised them that if so bee he were not set at liberty, immediatly after the Merchandise were landed, that then they should not remaine there any longer, but goe their wayes toward Portugale, & informe the king his Maister what had chaunced vnto him, and also what hee had done, that there might not bee lost a Countrey of so greate a profite for Portugale as that was, and also to tell him after what sorte that hee did remaine there, and what confidence hee hadde in his highnesse that he would send him such a Fleet of ships and men, that by the same hee doth hope to be sette at liberty, being assured that as nowe they woulde not kill him.

He that carried these letters being come to Paulo de la Gama, did deliuer them vnto him, giuing vnto him large instructions of all that which they had past, since they did departe. Now Paulo de la Gama hauing seene this Letter  
which

which was sent him from the Captaine General, did send immediatlye the merchaundise with an aunswere to this Letter, in the which hee sayde, that GOD would not permit him to retourne to Portingale without his companye. And if so bee that their enimyes would not sette him at liberty, that then hee did hope in GOD that hee woulde strengthen those fewe that remained in the Fleet, with whome and with the Dydinance that they haue, hee woulde come and set him at liberty, and of this hee might make full accompt, and of no other thing.

His brothers aply

The Merchaundise being landed, the Captaine General did deliuer the same vnto the Catuall, and also to Diego Dyas whome he lefte for Factor of the same, and to Aluora de Braga the Scrivenor, who remained in a house which the Catuall had sought out for them. In this space the Captaine Generall made himselfe in a readynesse to goe aborde his shippes, but first the Catuall did refozme, and make himselfe friendes with him.

After that hee was a boorde, hee would send no more Merchaundise a lande, vntill such time hee heard newes the same were solde, neyther yet would goe anye more a lande, because hee would runne in no such daunger, with this the Moors were grienously offended, for that they thought that if so be that he would come a land, that there they might doe him more hurte then a Seaborde.

And for that they woulde the rather so do, they beganne to make a mocke at the merchandise which he had left a land. Also they wrought all the means they could to hinder their sales therof, sayeng y they wer litle or nothing worth. Of al this y Captain general was informed, & for y as he thought the king knew nothing of all these things, neither yet what discourtesie the Catuall had offered him, & for that he should vnderstand the cause why the Captaine Generall did not retourne a land, neither yet wold send any more merchandise, he did therfore send him word within fve dayes after by his Factor of all that they hadde done vnto him, and also what iniurye the Moors hadde shewed him,

deuises of the Moors to entise the aland.



## The Conquest

touching their Merchants, promising notwithstanding, that he would not let to be at his commaundement with all the whole Fleet. Then the king seemed to be very greatly offended for that which they had done to y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general, in so much as he had sent him vnto his shippes. But for all that the Catuall went unpunished, although he sent the Captaine Generall worde, that he would punish those that had so vsed him, which out of doubt were naughtie christians, so that it did well appeare that it grieved him verie much to heare thereof. And as touching the Merchaundise he promised to sende thether such as shoulde buye the same, as hee did indeede seauen or eyght Merchauntes, which are Gentiles Gularates, and with his Factour hee sent a Nayre, which was a principall honest man, to the intent hee might remaine in the Factorie with the Factour, to whome hee gaue commaundement diligentely to be ware that there shoulde not come any Mozes to kill him. But for because that this was done but vnder couloure that the Mozes shoulde not seeme to subbozne the Merchauntes, they bought nothing, but rather did abate the price, of the which the Mozes were verie gladde, and said, that now it did well appeare that they were not alone that woulde not buye of they<sup>r</sup> Merchaundise, yet for all that ther durst come no Moze to the Factorie, they once having notice that there was placed a Nayre by the kinges commaundement. And if so be that before they did not abide or loue vs, they ten times worse loued vs afterwarde, so that whensoever any of our men shoulde come a land, they receiued the same as an iniurie done vnto them, spitting on the ground, saieing: Portingale, Portingale. But our men which vnderstode their meaning did laugh thereat, to the ende thereby they might see howe little they did esteeme their doinges, for so the Captaine Generall commaunded them to doe. Nowe perceiuing that there was none that woulde buy of the Merchants, he supposed the cause to be for that they lay in a place where there were no Merchauntes. And therfore supposing that if so be that they were in Cali-

cut, where other Merchants are, he should sell the better, did therefore inuey the King of Calicut by a messenger for license to send the same, which he gaue immediately, and commanded the Catuall to see the same brought forthwith, & to such as should carrie them, to see them paid at his owne costes and charges, for that he would not that any thing of the King of Portugales, should be at any charges in his Country, and so it was done: but for all this the Captaine generall would neuer come more a lande, for that which the Catuall hadde done vnto him, and for that Bontaybo which came to see him manye times, did giue him counsaile so to doe, for that the King was moueable, and therefore it was possible that the Mozes would alter his minde, for the great credite that they were of with him. But the Captaine general was very warie, and because that he was a Moze, he would not much trust him, neither yet would giue him account what he was minded to doe: yet for that he would seeme to haue him in some reputation that he should bring him alwayes newes of that which did passe on shoare, he departed with him both money and other rewards.

Their merchandize paide for by the King him selfe

Bontaybo vsed, but not trusted.

¶ How the Captaine generall being desirous to retourne toward Portugale, sent to demaunde license of the King to haue a Factor and a Scrivener, with such Merchants as he thought good: & how the King caused the messenger with one other, that was found a shoare to be crried to prison. Chap. 22.



The Merchants being brought to Calicut, the Captaine generall therewith gaue all his men license to goe and see the Citie of Calicut, & to buye ther what they thought good, so that there went out of each shippe euery day a man, and those being returned, there went immediately others. And as they went on this



## The conquest

order, they were carried to the Gentiles houses wher they had good chere, and also when occasion serued might haue among them good lodging. The like courtesie they did re-  
ceiue in Calicut, besides they did report vnto our men of all such things as they had, and after the selfe same manner, our men did bestow amongst them part of that they carried, which were bracelets of Masse & of Copper, Pewter, and apparell, which they carried to sell in Calicut, or anye other place, where they might goe as quiet as in Lishborne. From the lande there went aboord both Fisher men & Gentiles to sell their Fish, Cores and Vennes, which they gaue in trucke of bisket and for ready money. Others ther wer that went thether with their children, who carried nothing with them to sell, but only their going was to see our ships. The Captaine generall was very glad of their comming, & commanded to giue them meate: this he did for to increase the friendship betwene the King of Calicut & them. After this order, the ships wer neuer without some, & those y wer there, remained till such time that night drewo on, and then they were bid to goe their ways. After this sort they spent their time till it was the x. day of August, the which was the beginning of the season wherin they might depart from the Coast of the Indias, and also for that as then their winter did make an end. The Captaine generall perceiuing the quietnesse of the people and Countrey, and the familiaritie they vsed with our men, and how quietly they went in Calicut, without receiuing either hurt of the Moores or of the Nayres, did credibly beleue that this came to passe, for that the King of Calicut would haue peace and friendship with the King his Master, was the occasion that almost in three moneths that our men had trade in Calicut they did receiue no manner hurt, either of the Moores or of the Nayres. Hee did therfore determine to establish the Factorie which was there, with all such Merchandize as he had lefte at that present (although the least parte thereof was solde) for that there was now layde a good foundation or ground worke, for the next voyage when it shuld please the King his Ma-  
ster

The ende  
of the  
winter in the  
Indias.

ffer to sende againe, and if it might please God to giue him  
life, that he might bring him newes of this Discouerie, so  
that it should not be needfull to make any new consent or a-  
greement for the Factorie. And by the counsaile of his Cap-  
taines and of the other Principalls of his ships, he sent vnto  
the King of Calicut a present, of skarfes of sundry col-  
lours, of silkes, Coralls and other things, which was caried  
vnto him by Diego Dias, desiring the King to pardon him,  
for that he was so bold as to send him that present, conside-  
ring he did the same for no other purpose, but onely to  
shew what seruitour he was of his, who is and will be al-  
wayes at his commandement, which was the occasion that  
he sent it, and not for that he thought that things of so smal  
valeur, were of sufficient dignitie, for to represent a King  
withall of so great a power as he was. And if so be that he  
had in his custodie, that which he might esteeme or think to  
be of a more worthie price, he would sende it with a better  
good will. And for that the time now drew nere, & he deter-  
mined to depart, he ordained for the same, and also if so be  
that he did minde to send any Embassadour to the King his  
Master to confirme the amitie or friendship betwene them,  
he desired him to commaund him to be in a readinesse, for  
that he had a confidence that as touching that which he had  
agreed vpon with his highnesse, as also presuming on the gifts  
which he had receiued at his hands, & he might as he was  
desirous, leaue in Calicut that Factor with his Seruiens &  
the Merchandize which he had left, not onely for a witnes of  
a perpetuall peace & friendship settled ther with his highnesse,  
but also for a testimony of the truth of his Embassage, & of  
that which the King his Master shuld send hereafter, as soon  
as he had newes of him, & also for confirmatiō of his discou-  
ry & to get some credit in Portugale, he did therfore send to  
kisse his hands, requesting him to send to the King his master  
one Bahar of cinamon, & another of cloues, & another of some  
other spices, & as soon as the factor did make any redy money  
of his wares, he shuld pay for the same, so much as at the pre-  
sent he had not wherewith to paye. After that Diego Dias  
had



## The conquest

had receiued his message, there past foure dayes afore the King would consent that he should come in his presence, although that he went euery day vnto his Pallace. After that he had commanded him to come into his presence, he viewed how and after what sort he came laden, and thereupon asked him with a frowning countenance, what it was that he would haue: but Diego Dias at that time was asfearde, that he would commaund him to be killed. But after that he had told him his message and would haue deliuered him the present, he would not see it, but commaunded it to be deliuered to his Factor. The aunswere that he gaue touching the Captaine generall was, that since he would needes goe his way, he might so doe: but first o that he doe depart, he must giue him 6000. Serasynes, so that it was the custome of the Countrey. Diego Dias being returned with this present, was accompanied by manye Nayres, which he seeing, thought it to be for the best: but as soone as he was come to the Factorie, they remained at the doore, and would not consent, that he or any other should come forth. And after this proclamation was made in all the Citie, that vpon paine of death there should goe aboard our Flote no boate or Almadias: but yet notwithstanding all this Bontaybo went, and gaue warning to the Captaine generall in secreete, not to goe a lande, nor consent that any of his should goe: for that he knew for most certaine by the Moyses, that if so be that he or they should so doe, the King would commaunde they heads to be broken off. And as touching all his faire words and good entertainment, which he had shewed him vnto that present, as also to giue him a house in the which his Merchandize might be layd, as also the good entertainment that our men had, was but mere dissimulation, and to the ende, he might haue taken him a lande with them, & so haue commaunded them all to be killed, which was wrought by the industrie of the Moyses onely, which had made the King beleue, that they were theues and went a roving, and that he came not vnto his Harbour, but to steale such Merchandize as should be brought to the Citie, and also to elpie the Countrey,

The kings  
aunswere  
vnto Die-  
go Dias.

Diego Dias  
as kept in  
prison.

Countrey, and after to come with a great Flæte for to invade the same. In the selfe same order was the Captaine generall informed by two Malabars, which are Gentiles, being therfore now in a studie what was best to be done, having this aduertisement for most certaine, as soone as it was night, there came aboard the Generalls ship, a slave of the colour blacke, which was naturally borne in Guynee, & belonged unto Diego Dias and also was a Christian, and had the Portugall tongue very well, who tolde him that Diego Dias and Aluoro de Braga did remain in prison, & what aunswere the King of Calycut had made to his message, & what he had commaunded to be done with his present, and also what Proclamations there were made: Diego Dias, for that he thought good to giue him knowledge of y<sup>e</sup> which had past, had bribed a Fisher man to carrie this messenger, and that in the night season that he might not be knowen. After that the Captaine generall had heard all this, he was much offended therewith: howbeit, for that hee would see the end thereof, would not depart, but did let passe that day, to see whether that any would come aboard him. The next day which was Wednesdaye, being the xv. of August, there came one only Pinnace or Almadia aboard the General, in the which were foure boyes, which brought fife precious stones to sell, and for that they came after such sort he tooke them to be spies, and that their comming was for no other purpose but to see what they did: and by this meanes hee thought he might vnderstand in what reputation they were with the King. This was the occasion the Captaine generall did receiue them with as good a countenance as he did before, giuing them nothing to vnderstand y<sup>e</sup> he knew of the imprisonment of Diego Dias, and wold not therfore laye hand vpon those, but vpon such as shoulde come afterward (which as he thought should be of more credite) untill such time as he had recovered those that were imprisoned.

Unto those also he wrote a Letter by those Boyes, with fained words, saing that he did vnderstande of their imprisonment: this was done in such order, that if so be this

Boies sent  
for spies



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The  
king of  
Calicut  
treson to  
wards the  
Captaine  
generall,

Certaine  
Malabars  
stayed in  
exchange

letter should haue come to any other mens hands, they could not haue vnderstood the same. These Boyes did deliuer vnto him this letter, who afterward told the king what great entertainment they had at the Captaine generalls hands, which made him to beleue that he knewe nothing of the imprisonment of his men, whereof he was very glad & did retourne and send aboord others, and those that shoulde goe had warning giuen them not to disclose, that the Factor with the others did remaine prisoners. This was done by pollicie, for that he made this reckoning to deceiue the Captaine generall on this sort, vntill such time that he was able to sende a flete of ships vpon him, or til that the ships of Meca, should come and take him. On this sort went the Malabars aboord, vnto whom the Captaine generall made a good countenaunce, and commaunded them to be entertained very well: all this he did for y he saw none worth the staieng. On the Sunday next, there came five principal Malabars, with other fiftene which waited vpon them, in another Pinace. And for that the Captain generall thought that for those the king would send him his Factor and his Scriuenour, he laid hands vpon them all, onely he lefte two Mariners in a pinace, by whom he sent a letter to the kings Factors, witten in the Malabars tongue, in the which he demaunded for the Factor and his Scriuenor, & then he wold send those which he had staid. The kings factor hauing perused this letter, he enformed y king of y which had past, who comaunded the Factor & Scriuenor to be brought home to his house as prisoners, that he might from thence send for them, and to dissemble therewith as though he knewe nothing of their imprisonment, & so cause them to be sent from thence to the Captaine generall, for that he might send him those Malabars which he had detained, whose wiues made exclamation for the imprisonment of their husbands. And therefore the king was the more willinger to set our men at libertie, who afterward remained a while in the kings Factors house.

¶ How the Captaine generall seeing the delayes wer made  
for

for that the Factor with the Seruener came not, did bring himselfe in a readines as though he would depart immediately, wherevpon without any further delay, the King sent them away, and what els happened. Chap. 23.



The captain general seeing y they came not, determined to proue whethery with shewing himself as though he wold depart immediately, they wold the send them to him, did therfore on wednesday, being the xxiii. of August commaund to wey his Anko, & to bring himselfe vnder saile. And for that the winde was contrary he was driuen to come to an Anko, foure leagues from Calicut, riding in an open road, and there they remained till the next Saturday, to see whether they would sende their prisoners. And perceiuing no likelihood thereof, he went yet further into the Sea, so far, that he scarcely could descry any land, & being at an Anko, for lack of winde, there came thether a boat w certain Malabars, which told y Captaine generall y their comming was to seeke him out, & to tel him y Diego Dias with y others, wer in y kings pallaice, whom he minded to send aboard, which thing to be true they would bind theselues y as y next day they should be brought. And y cause why they brought the not as then, was for that they thought they shuld not ouertake him. Now for y they sawe not y Malabars y the Generall kept as prisoners, thought y they were all dead. This craftie dealing was for no other purpose, but to dally with y Captaine general, & to stay him with those words, that the King might in the meane while prepare in Calicut an armie of ships to set vpon him and to tarry for the ships of Meca, to ioyne with his Flæte. After this the Captaine generall commaunded those of the towne, to goe their way and not to retourne without his men, or els their letters, for if so be they did he would sink them w his ordinance. And also if immediately they did not returne with an answer, y then he would cut off the heads of those which he had taken. With this answer, those of the

Yet mo de  
uices to  
slaye the  
Portin-  
gals from  
departing



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tolone did departe , and immediatlye as soone as they had winde, he made sayle, and bearing along the Coast , came to Ankoꝝ at the Sunne set ouer against Calycut .

The next daye our men descryed conning seauen Almadias, which came aboard the Captaine generalls ship, in the one whereof came Diego Dias and Aluoro de Braga , and in the others there came many others of the countrey, howbeit, there were none that durst enter within their ships , but did put Diego Dias and Aluoro de Braga in his owne boate which they had at their stearne, and afterwarde they themselues fell further off, tarrieng foꝝ the Captaine Generalls aunswere. To whom Diego Dias said, That as soone as the King of Calicut knew that he was gone, he sent foꝝ him from his ffactoꝝs house and shewed himselfe ioyfull, as one that knew nothing of his imprisonment, and asked him what was the occasion that the Captaine Generall tooke those men which he doth keepe as prisoners, who afterward tolde him the cause : whereupon the King made aunswere, that it was well done. He asked him also whether that his ffactoꝝ had demaunded at his hands any thing of gift, speaking against his owne ffactoꝝ which was there present, foꝝ that he knew wel inough y it was not long ago, since he commaunded one other to be killed, foꝝ taking certain bybes of Merchaunt straungers. After all this, he willed him to tell the Captaine generall that he should send him y stone which he promised him to be set in the Countrey, vpon the which there is a Crosse and the royall Armes of Portingale , and also to know of him whether he be content to leaue Diego Dias foꝝ ffactoꝝ in Calicut, and with the same he sent him a letter foꝝ the King of Portingale , which was confirmed and signed by the King , and witten by Diego Dias and with this Letter , he sent Aluoro de Braga . The Captaine generall tooke this Letter , which was witten in a certaine Lease of a Palme Tree, vpon the which they doe vse to write matters, that shall indure a long time, the effect whereof was this.

Vasco

Vasco de la Gama, a Gentleman of the house came to my Countrie, of whose coming I was very glad. In my Countrie there is great store of Cinamon, Cloues, and Pepper, and precious stones. That which I am desirous to haue out of the Countrie, is Silver, Gold, Corall, & Shal-  
let. The Captaine Generall for that he sawe the king to vse no truth, would not answer for all his offers, but therewith sent him all such as he hadde stayed that were Nayres, and for all the others, he sent him word, he would not send them, vntill such time that he sent him all such merchaundise as he had taken of his. Notwithstanding he sent him the stone he sent for, & with this answer departed those that brought Diego Dyas aboard. The next day there came a boord Bontaybo who tolde the Captaine Generall that he came so sodeinly away from Calicut for that the Catuall by the kings commaundement had taken from him all that he ever had, saying that he was a christian, and that his coming to Calicut ouer land was by the king of Portugales commaundement onely to be his spie. Other matters there were which he told him of, and that the same came by the Moors procurement, the which he knew wel, that as they toke his goods, so they meant to do him some shrewd turne in his person, if so be that they coulde haue taken him, and therefore he came his way before. The Captaine Generall was very glad of his coming, and tolde him that he would carry him to Portugale, and that there he shuld recover all his goods with the double, besides other rewards that the king his Maister would giue him. He commaunded also that in his ship there should be prepared him a principall good cabine. After this about tenne of the clocke, there came a boorde the Captaine Generall thre Pinnaces laden with men, and vpon certeine of their seates or benches, there was layd certeine Shal-  
lets, as who should say, there came part of the merchaundise. And after these there came other foure one after another. And as touching those thre that brought those Shal-  
lets, they tolde the Captaine Generall that there came all the merchan-

The effect  
of the king  
of Calicut  
letters.

Bontaybo  
willing  
to goe to  
Portugal



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dise which they would put in his boate, and therefore they willed him to bring thether those Malabars which he had prisoners, and that there they would fetch them. The Captaine Generall perceiuing that this was but a fetch, did will them to goe their waye, for that hee would haue none of theyr Merchaundise but those Malabars to carrie to Portingale, as witnesses of his discouerie.

And if so be that God of his diuine goodnesse doe giue him lyfe, hee would very shortly retourne to Calicut, and then they shoulde well knowe whether that those Christians were theues or not, as the Mores hadde made the king of Calicut beleue, and therefore that was the cause why hee did them so manifest wrong. This being done hee commaunded to shote of many peeces of Ordnance, with the feare thereof they ranne theyr waye. And if so be that the kings shippes had bene in a readynesse and a floate, they had sent them against the Captaine Generall, but they were haled vp for because of the Winter, which was to be beleued to haue bene the handye worke of God, that our Shippes shoulde be there at this season, for that they might escape and carrie newes of the discouerye of this Countrey, to ressoze in the same the holye Catholike Faith, other wise if it had ben Summer he would haue hadde his flate in a readynesse, the which was great, and so haue taken vs all, and by this meanes there hadde bene none leste to haue carryed newes to Portingale.

Of the departure of the Captaine Generall from Calicut towarde Portingale, and what further happened vnto him being in the lland Ansandina. Cap. 22.



Although that the Captaine Generall reioysed very much for that hee had discovered Calicut, yet he was not fully satisfied therewith altogether, so that the king had conceived against him great displeasure, & by this meanes as he iudged the next fleet that the king his maister should send, would run in great daunger. Howbeit perceiuing that it lay not in his power to do any more, he was therfore contented onely with the discovery, and to haue knowne the Indias, & of their navigation, & what was commodious for the Countre, and to haue brought with him from thence examples of the spices, drugs, and precious stones, as also of all other thinges that were within the same citie. And hauing there no more to doe, he departed, carrieng with him those Malabars which he had taken, for that by them he hoped to haue some agreement made with the king of Calicut at the returne of anye other fleet. The Thursday after his departure, being in calme a league or from Calicut, there came towarde him to y number of lx. Tonys full of Souldiers, by the which the king of Calicut thought to haue taken them, who seeing them comming commanded his ordinaunce to be shot of at them, & that oftentimes, and if he had not done so, they would haue put him in greate daunger for that they followed him an houre and a halfe. And by reason of a shewre of raine which came vpon a sodaine, the Captaine Generall was driuen a sea boord with all his flecte, & in the meane while the enimies fledde their waye, and bearing his course towards Mylnde in great calmes, & that along the coast, thought good & conuenient although y king of Calicut had abused him sundry waies, that for the necessitie y those that should returne to Calicut, should haue of his friendship and fauour to receiue from thence theyr lading of Spices, to vse as it were some friendship with them, since that the king would be gladd thereof, in especiall being exalted, did therefore write vnto him a letter in the Arabian tongue,



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tongue, which was penned in that language by Bontaybo,  
 in the which he did craue pardon for the carrieng awaye of  
 those Malabars with him, which was done for no other in-  
 tent then that they shoulde be as witnessers of that the  
 which he had discovered, as before he had sent him worde.  
 And for that he leste no Factorie in Calicut (the which he  
 was sorrie for) was for feare least that the Moors shoulde  
 kill him, which was also the occasion that he was not of-  
 ten times a land. Yet for all that he did not leaue, but  
 woulde be alwayes at his commaundement, since that  
 the king his Maister would be glabbe of his friendshippe,  
 and also forthwith woulde sende him in his Flote  
 greate abundaunce of all such merchaundise as he both de-  
 maund for, by the trade that from hence forth he shoulde  
 haue with the Portugales in his Citie, would rebound vni-  
 to him great profit. This letter was deliuered vnto one of  
 the Malabars to carry the same a land to the place wher it  
 was comanded to be deliuered. And afterward he knewe y<sup>e</sup> the  
 same was deliuered to y<sup>e</sup> king of Calicut. Then y<sup>e</sup> Captaine  
 general going forward in his course, & that along the coast,  
 on the next Thursday after, he fell amongst certeine rocks,  
 with all his Flote, and from one of them that was inha-  
 bited there came forth sundry Bunnaces with men, within  
 the same to sell them fish, and other victualls. The Cap-  
 taine Generall did receiue them very curteously, who com-  
 manded to giue them both shirts and other things, of the  
 which they were verie glabbe, whereupon he tooke occasion  
 to aske them whether they woulde be content that there  
 shoulde be erected a marke with a crosse in the same, with  
 the royall armes of Portingale, in token that the Portugals  
 are they<sup>r</sup> friends. And they answered that they were con-  
 tented, and thereby they well knew that we were christi-  
 ans, and so was the marke placed, and since that time it is  
 called El Padron de Sancta Maria. Now to this day by the  
 foresaid name the rocke is called. From hence as soone as  
 the night drew on and that the winde began to blow of the  
 shoare, the Captaine Generall made saile, and keeping al-  
 waies

swapes along the coaste on the Thursday after, being the 19. of September hee fell with a goodly high lande, and harde to the same there laye five little Ilandes, and there he came to an Anko, and going a lande to take in water did there finde a young man, which did demand, concerning the Captaine Generall, whether he were a Moore or a Christian, they answered him that hee was a christian. This he did as it was thought with feare, leass that they should haue killed him, forsomuch as in that place there were no christians. This young man did carrie our men within a certeine river, & shewed them most excellent water the which issued out betwene certeine rocks, and for his paines they gaue him a red night cap. The next morning following there came from the land foure others in a small boate a boye the Captaine Generall, which brought with them to sell many gourds and Cucumbers, and they were demanded by the Generall whether there were in that Countrie any Cinamon or Pepper. They answered that there was nothing but Cinamon, and so that he was desirous to see the same, he sent with them two of his men, the which at their return brought w them two grane boughs of certeine trees which they doe take to be the same, reporting that theresof there was a great groue, howbeit the same was wilde. And at their retourne there came with them more then 20. of that Countrie men, which brought to sell hens, gourds, & Cowes milke. Also they requested the Captaine Generall to send with them certeine of his men, for that shortly after, they should retourne with greafe store of dye Cinamon, Hogges, and Hennes, but for all their great offers, he would let none of his men goe, for that hee feared leass the same was some treason. The next daye after before dinner, our men going a lande to cut woode somewhat farre of, from the place where they were, fell on a soddeine vppon two Boates, the which laye harde by the shoare side.

Cinamon  
growing.

The Captaine Generall woulde not immediatlye procure to knowe what they were, till it was after Dinner,



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for then he thought to know the same. And being in a readinesse to depart, did first commaund one of his Marriners to go by to the top, to see whether that he could discery any other vessels a sea boord or not, who being there tolde him that he had sight of eight great ships which wer incalmied, with this newes he left his going to see the others, & put himselfe in a readinesse, the winde was in such sort that it might serue them both, & as they came within two leagues of our flecte, the Captaine Generall made toward them. The enimies perceiuing that, did immediatly flye toward the shoare. And they bearing after this sorte, was broken the Rudder of one of the same, by reason whereof those that were within the ship were forced to go in their boats toward the lande. Nicholas Coello who was next to this ship, went immediatly and layde the same aboard, thinking indeede to finde in it some greate store of riches, howbeit there was nothing els but Cocos and Melafus, which is a certeine kinde of Sugar made of Palmes or Date trees. Also he founde therein manye bowes, arrowes, stowdes, speares and targats, and the other seauen ranne themselves a ground, and so that our men could not come nere vnto them with their ships, they followed them in their boats, and from thence did beate them with their ordinnance, so that their enimyes were driuen to leaue their shippes, and being yet the next day at an Anko, there came vnto him seauen men of the country in an Almadias, who tolde him that those eight ships were of Calicut, the which the king had sent for to take him, as by those that fled away they vnderstood.

How the Captaine Generall went to Anсандina to take in water, & also how he toke there a Moore prisoner, which was seruant to the Lord of the Iland of Goa called Sabayo, the which was taken for a spie. cap. 25.

After



After that the Captaine Generall was thus informed, he would carrie there no longer, but immediatlye came to an Anko<sup>r</sup> at the Ilande of Anlandina, the which was distant from thence as it were two Gunne shotte, where it was tolde him, there was excellent sweete water. This Iland is but little, and but a league of from the firme land. There are in the same many woods, and also two conduit heads, made of free stone of excellent sweete water, the which are springs and do rise ther, where of one is fire soote dape. Also in the sea about the sayde Iland is great store of fish. Before that the Moyses did use to traficke to the Indias, the same was inhabited by Gentiles, in the which there were goodly buildings, in especiall their Pagodes was a goodly thing. And after that the Moyses which came from the red sea began to saile that way, they resorted thether alwayes to take in their water and wood, and did so abuse the inhabitants that they could not wel abide the same, so that they left their dwellings ther, but before their going away, they plucked downe almost all their Pagods, so that they left nothing standing but the berce Chappell, the lyke they did to all other their buildings, yet for all that these Gentiles that wer of the firme land, which belong to the king of Narsingas, had to this Pagode such deuotion, that from thence they would goe sundry times to make in the same their prayers vnto three black stones that were lieng in the midst of the said Chappell.

The Iland is called Anlandina which in the Malabars language is called the five Ilandes, for that rounde about the same there lye the other foure. The Captaine Generall hauing come to an Anko<sup>r</sup>, sent Nicholas Coelho with his companie to discover the same, who founde it according as afoze is declared, and a goodly place of ground, where they might helpe

Anlandina  
forsaken  
of the in-  
habitants



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They re-  
paire  
their  
ships.

graue their ships. And for that the Captaine Generall had a great course to run, and also for that he knew not when to finde so conuenient a place, he consulted with the other Captaines to bring their shippes there a ground. The first day that they brought there a ground, was the Shippe the which they called *Berno*. And whilest they were thus occupied, there came many people to sell them victuals. At which time there came two small *Bickentines* that hadde out theyr *Standeras*, and *Flagges* in the toppes of theyr *Mastes*, and within them theyr *Trumpettes* and *Drummes*, wherevpon they came playeng, at theyr pleasure. In these *Bickentines* there came manye men, and they all at the *Dare*, and along the *shoare* side there were other five which came to succour them if they shoulde haue anye neede.

An  
other  
of the  
ships

The Captaine Generall after that hee hadde sight of them, had warning given him by the *Malabars* to beware of them, for that they were *rouers*, and vnder a colour of peace, did robbe all that they coulde take. And after that hee was entered into his shippe, hee perceiued that hee might haue taken them if so be that hee would haue consented to lette them to come aborde him, but hee would not agree to the same. And therefore as soone as they came within Gunne shotte, commaunded all theyr *Ordinaunce* to be shot at them from those two shippes that were a floate. They fearing this shotte, gaue out a lowde voice crieng, *Tambarane, Tambarane*, for so they doe call *God*, and with this often shooting they fledde theyr way.

*Nicholas Coello* being as then in his Boate, went after them alwayes shooting his *Ordinaunce*, who pursued them so farre that the Captaine Generall was driven to put vp his *flagge* for a signe hee shoulde retourne, and so he did.

The next daye after the Captaine Generall with all his men being a land, working vpon the ship called *Berno*, there came in two litle *Paraos* to the number of twelue men of the Countrie, the which in their apparel seemed to be of some

some countenaunce, who brought so: a present a bundell of  
Sugar Canes, and immediately as soone as they had deliue-  
red the same, they asked license to goe aboard and to see the  
ships, so: that they neuer saw any before. The Captaine ge-  
nerall was greatly offended with this their request, so: by  
that he feared least that they were spies: and whilst they  
were in this talke, there came thether other two Paraos,  
with as many more men. Those that came first, seeing that  
the Captaine generall was somewhat growen in cholar, did  
will those that came afterward, not to come a lande but to  
returue againe. The ship Berrio being made in a redinesse,  
& afterward that the Generalls ship was brought a ground  
to be new rigged, and hauing a lande about hir, all the other  
Captaines, there came a man in a little Parao, who seemed  
to be of the age of fortie yeares, and not of that Countrey,  
so: that he had upon him a Sabaco of fine Cotten, which  
reached downe to his hailes, and about his head a towke or  
cowell, which also couered part of his face, and at his gy-  
dell a fatchin or Skopne. And as soone as he leapt a lande,  
he went immediately to embrace the Captaine generall as  
one that had sene him or knowen him before, and after the  
selfe same sort he vsed the other Captaines, telling them that  
he was a Christian, and borne in Italy, and that hee was  
brought into that Countrey of a childe, and that his dwel-  
ling was with a Noble man that was a Moze, called Sa-  
bayo the which was Lord of a certaine Iland called Goa,  
lieng about twelue leagues from thence, and had forty thou-  
sand horsemen within the sayd Iland. And so: that his ha-  
bitation was amongst the Mozes, he obserued their lawe,  
howbeit it was but so: an outward shew, but inwardly in  
his soule he was a Christian: and being in Sabayos house  
it was tolde him, that there was come by Sea to Calycut  
certaine men in ships, whereof there was neuer sene y like  
in the Indias, and that there were none that vnderstood  
their language, and also that their bodies were couered ouer  
with cloathes. And when he had vnderstanding of the  
same, he immediatlye iudged them to be Franghes, so: so

Sugar  
Canes  
growng  
there.



## The conquest

they do call those that are Christians in that Countrey, and for that he was desirous to see them, had therefore asked license of Sabayo, saying that if so be that he would not give him license to goe and see them, that he knewe verie well that he should dye with very thought and anger: by reason whereof he gaue him license, by whome he sent them word, that if so be that there were in his Countrey any thing y they had neede of, they shuld haue the same, in especiall shippes and victualles. And moreover, if they would come and dwell in his Countrey, he would be very gladd thereof, and would give both them and theirs sufficient living, with the which they should live very honourably.

After that he had ended thus his talke, the Captaine generall asked him perticularly for the Countrey of Sabayo, and other things: Wherevpon he requested of the Captaine generall a chæse for to sende to a companion of his, which remained in the firme Lande, for that it was agreed betwene them, that if so be that he were well entertained, that he would sende vnto him a token in signe thereof. This kinde of dealing made the Captaine generall suspect him, notwithstanding, he commaunded a chæse to be given him, and also two newe loaves, the which he sent to his companion as aforesaide, and he remained alwayes talking with the Captaine Generall: His talke was so much, that some times hee discovered himselfe to bee a spye.

Paulo de la Gama, which noted the same, asked of certaine countrey men what hee was, and they by and tolde him, that he was a Mouer, and that he had laide aboard other Shippes, which had bene there brought a grounde before that time. The Captaine Generall being thereof informed, commaunded him to be carried aboard his shippe, which was then a grounde, and there he commaunded him to bee well whipped to confesse, whether that all or anye parte of the same was true that hee had tolde him, and also what he meant by his conning thether, and whether he were a Mouer or a Christian, who  
ant.

answered that he was a Christian as he had said before, al  
the rest he denied, & therefore the General sought one other  
more cruell toiment then whipping, which was by hanging  
of him by by his members by a pulley, to hoist him up and  
downe: and by the great paine which he suffered there, he  
requested to be let downe, for that as then he would tell  
him the truth: and being come downe, he declared that hee  
was a spie, and was sent thether, to discover how manye  
men the Captaine generall had, and what weapons, for so  
much as he was ill beloued along all that Coast, because  
he was a Christian. And that there were manye Atalayas  
or Foyts placed in euery Baye or Rricke to set vpon him:  
howbeit they durst not untill such time as there came the  
ther other fortie great Vessells, which were a making in a  
readinesse for to ioyne with those that are armed, and so to  
set vpon him, and to take him: and therefore in the meane  
space he was sent to knowe what he sayd; he affirmed also  
so, that he knewe not certaintely, when those fortie shalpe  
would come. This much he declared after that he had re-  
ceiued three or foure toiments: all the rest they understood  
by coniectures, forsomuch as he did not perticularlye declare  
the same.

A notable  
counterfait  
discovered

A kinde  
of boates  
so called

The Captaine generall seeing that he would declare no  
more, was contented with the aduite he had giuen him,  
and commaunded him to prison vnder the hatches, for to  
carrie with him vnto Portingale: also to be cured verie  
well, and to giue him some refreshing of victualles. After-  
ward he tolde him that he did not minde to keepe him pri-  
soner to haue him as his Captiue, but to carie him vnto the  
King his Master, to the ende he might tell him some newes  
of the Indias, knowing verie well that he would rewarde  
him. Now the Captaine generall hauing knowledge of the  
comming of his enemies, would therefore carrie no longer  
then whilest his ship was new dressing, the which was done  
in ten dayes.

At this instant the Captaine generall was offered for  
the shippe, the which shippe he had taken of the eight, that  
did



## The conquest

did set vpon him a thousand fanons, but he wold not take it, saing that he wold not sell any thing y was his enimies, but commaunded the same to be burnt. The Captaine Generalls ship being ready and the water being taken in, hee immediately departed vpon the fifth daye of October, and going a Sea boord, about a two hundred leagues from that Island, then the Moore which he caried with him as prisoner, seeing there was no other remedie, said, that now he wold tell him the truth how that indeede he did dwell with the Sabayo, to whom word was brought that the Captaine generall went wandring vpon the Seas, as one that knewe not where he was, and therefore there was in preparing a great flerte for to take him. The Sabayo hauing notice thereof, commaunded him to goe thither to visite him, and to marke how they went, and also to see whether that hee could bring them to Goa, which if so be that he could bring to passe, he wold as then laye hand vpon them, for that the same went that they were valpant, and so meant to hope them to make warres against other Kings his next neighbours. These newes the Captaine Generall was glad to heare of, and gaue him from thenceforth better entertainment, & allowed him both apparell and also money, & afterward he was made a Christian, to whom he gaue for name Gaspar, in honour of one of the three Kings, called Magus of that name, and so that the Captaine generall was his God father, he gaue him the title of his surname, and so euor after he was called Gaspar de la Gamas.

A Moore  
christened

How the Captaine generall went forwarde on his Voyage towards Mylynde, and of the great troubles he past, vntill such time as he came thither. Chap. 26.

Following



Following from hence his course  
towards Mylynde, whether he  
was minded to returne to take in  
there an Embassadour, he went  
alwayes in cruell stormes, which  
the Captaine generall continually  
indured, until such time he had en-  
tered the goulfe, & hauing alwayes  
the winde right against him, it  
was the occasion that the shippes  
made but small way, and therefore it was the longer time  
before he entered the gulf. But after that he was entered  
within the same, he was again troubled with great calmes,  
which on the Sea is very troublesome, not only for the go-  
uerning of their ships, but also with the heat, which is more  
hurtfull vpon the sea, then vpon the land, for that ther is no  
couering to defend the Sunne, whereon with the same burn-  
ly men are stifled vp, as hath bene seene in the voyage to-  
ward the Indias. And as I say the winde hauing coursing  
thus with the heates, the space of many dayes together, did  
afterward returne and breake vp in contrary windes to go  
for ward, and very good to goe backward. But the Captaine  
generall being loath to go backward, wold yet rather tae  
ther whet he was, as indeed he did. And when he perceiued  
that the winde was so great and the Seas went so high,  
that there was no farrieng for him with his shippes, then  
was he driuen of force to keepe the Seas, sometime on this  
bord, and sometime that, so that both he and his men pas-  
sed great troubles, by reason they all had inough to doe to  
gouerne their ships. And hoping that after so great stormes  
there would come faire weather, were driuen once more to  
pray for those great calmes which they had before. And  
when they saue that this weather was like to endure ma-  
ny dayes, and that their water beganne to fayle them, was  
the occasion that the Captaine Generall commaunded the  
same to be deliuered by order.

Men stif-  
led vvith  
the Sunne  
onely.

S.

And



## The Conquest

The  
Skurfe.

Will not  
drive by  
sawdust  
the

And going in this necessitie, and also with fowle weather, the people began to fall sicke with a disease in their gums, as they did in the river, De buenas Sennales, when as they went to Calicut, & also their armes and legs did swell, besides other swellings which did rise in their bodyes, by reason of a pestilent stinking humour, which did cast them into a laske, and of this new infirmitie, there dyed to the number of thartie persons. And after that they began once to die, and had continued this kinde of weather bypon the Seas, ther arose such a feare amongst those that did remain aliue, that they fared in the same, as it were men amazed, and beleued verely that they should neuer goe from thence, for that as they thought this kinde of weather was alwayes durable there, and that the same was the cause that it indured so long. The Masters and Pilots of the Flote were of the lyke opinion, which made the rest beleue it the sooner, that by this meanes the crye of all those that were there, as well of them that were sicke as of the other, was great, saying that since the weather would not serue them to goe from thence, yet they requested him not to be an occasion of their death, but rather consent to retourne into Calicut, or els to some other place in the Indias, and being ther, to receiue what God shuld appoint them, rather then to dye in those seas of so terrible diseases, for which ther was no likelihood of any remedie, in especiall hauing lacke of all other things, as of victuals and water, which as then they began to want, by reason that by their long continuance in the said place was all spent. The Captaine generall seeing the great feare that his men were in, and for to animate them the more, sayd vnto them all on this sorte, requesting them to be content, and not to beleue that such weather as was there coursed by them on that sorte, was alwayes lyke to continue, for if so be that it were so, then there woulde be no Nauigation from the Goulph to the Strayghtes of Meca, nor to Mylynde, nor yet from anye other place, by the which they shoulde passe: And that it was not impossible, but that they might somewhat digresse from their

their right course, and therefore they met with those talmes and windes which they indured, yet those he saide should haue an ende, and with the same, their troubles will lyke- wise ende.

But for all this, the Marriners woulde not beleue him, for that in this trouble they had continued foure monethes, and also that there were dead of theyr fellowes, thirtie persons: so that there were so fewe of them remain- ing, that there was not to every ship sixtene persons left to gouerne the same: and of them there were some, that were verie sicke of the disease aboue sayde. By this meanes they fell into such a desperation, by reason that they thought they shoulde goe no further, and as they doe affirme, that Paulo de la Gama, and Nicholas Coello, be- ing both of them Captaines made agreement each of them in theyr Shippes to the other, that if so be that there woulde come anye Winde, by the which they might retourne into the Indias, that then they woulde surelye doe so.

A vvorfull  
mortalitie

Being thus determind, vppon a todayne there came a fresh gale of Winde, with the which the flete might goe forwarde, and with the same in sixtene dayes they came within sight of lande, being on a Wednesday the seconde of Februarie: at the which the Marriners re- ioyced in such sort that by meanes of the same, they had forgotten theyr troubles and daungers that they were past, and gaue vnto God great thanks for all his gra- cious benefites.

And when that they hadde sight of the Lande, they founde themselves so nere vnto it, that the Captaine ge- nerall gaue commaundement to cast about into the Sea, so much as might be thought sufficient for to staye vntill the morning, the which being come, they went forth- with for to reknowledge the Lande, and for to see where they were, for that as now there was none that knewe the same, although that one of the Moores sayde, that they hadde then taken theyr Course directlye towarde



## The Conquest

The Citie  
of Maga-  
doxo.

Monſambique, which ſtandeth betwene certaine Ilandes, ſtanding ouer againſt them, three hundred leagues of the ſhoare, whereas the people of the ſame Countrey are continually ſicke of the ſame diſeaſe, that our men were. The morning being come he went to reknowledge the land, and came befoze a goodly great Citie, which was walled round about and within the ſame, very faire and high houſes, and in the miſt of the ſame there was a great Pallace, which ſtood very high, and ſeemed to be of a goodly building, all this they ſaw very well out of their ſhips. This Citie is called Magadoxo, which ſtandeth at the ende of the ſaid goulfe in the Coaſt of Aethiopia, a hundred & thirtene leagues from Mylynde, the ſituation whereof I ſhall declare hereafter. And ſo that the Captaine generall knew the ſame to bee a Citie of Mozes, when as hee went along the Coaſt, hee commaunded to ſhoote of manye peeces of Ordnance, and alſo ſo that he coulde not tell how farre hee was from Mylynde, from thence ſo ward he ſtayed in the night, becauſe he would not paſſe the ſame. Forthwith, on Saturday being the fifth of Februarie, lieng ouer againſt a village of the Mozes, which they call Pate, being a hundred and three leagues from Magadoxo, there came from thence eight Terradas which is a certaine kinde of Boates of that Countrey, being all full of ſouldiours, and made theyr waye ſtraight towarde our Fleete, from whence we ſhot ſo many peeces of Ordnance, that they thought themſelues happy to haue eſcaped by running awaye. Howbeit our men did not followe them ſo lacke of winde. The next Mundaye following, the Generall arrived at Mylynde, and being there, the King ſent to viſite the Captaine Generall with ſundrye freſh victuals, ſending him word alſo, how glad hee was of his comming. The Generall aunſwered him againe, by Fernan Martines, by whome hee ſent him a Preſent: and ſo becauſe of thoſe that were ſicke, whome hee was deſirous to haue cured, hee tarried there ſix dayes, in the which time, there died of them many.

At

At this present by the kings license, he caused to be set a land a marke, in token of friendship. And after that he had provided himselfe of victuals, he departed on a Wednesday in the morning, being the xviij. of Februarie, with an Embassadour whome the king did sende, to the king of Portingale, for a perpetuall confirmation of friendship betweene them.

Of the death of the Captaine Generalls brother, and of the burning of one of the ships called Saint Raphael, & also how he arrived in Portingale, and of the honour the king gaue him at their meeting. cap. 27.



Now for that the Captaine Generall had not men inough to gouerne the whole flecte, he thought good and that by the aduise of the other Captaines, to burne one of those shippes, and that the same should be Saint Raphael, which they determined to doe the rather, forsomuch as the same was al open, and they had not brought him a grounde as they did the others, and also determined to burne the same vppon the shoels of Saint Raphael, vnto which place they came on the Sunday following, where (what for taking in of her furniture, as also for burning the same) he spent fve daies, and during that time from a village the which is called Tangata, there were brought to sell many hens. This being done the Captaine Generall departed, hauing with him in his shippe his brother called Paulo de la Gama, and on the xx. of Februarie he found himselfe with onely Nicholas Coello in the Island of Zenziber, which standeth in the altitude of sixe degrees, lieng but ten leagues from the firme land. This Island is verie greate with the other two that standeth nere vnto it, whereof the one is called Pemba, and the other Mosya, and are verie fertill, and haue in them great store of victuals. Their groues are of Drenges

The Raphael burned.

The Ile of Zenziber.



## The Conquest

trés, which bringeth forth goodly Drénges. They are inhabited by Mozes, which are but a weake kinde of people, and they haue but small store of weapons, howbeit they goe very well appparelled, in silke and fine cloath made of Cotten, the which they doe buye in Mombassa, of Merchants of Camibayo. The women haue store of iewells of golde from Sofala, and of siluer from the Iland of Saint Larence. They are merchants & their trade is in the firme land, and thether they do carry victuals to sell in litle boats. Each of these Ilands hath a king of himselfe, the which also doe obserue Mahomets lawe as all the rest of the subiectes doe.

As soone as the king of Zenziber hearde that the Captaine Generall was there arriued, he sent to visit him and sent him great presents of the fruits of the country, requesting him of his friendship, to the which he agréed. After all this he departed on the first of March, and came to an Anko, befoze the Ilands of Saint George in Monsambique, and the next day after he sent a marke to be erected within that Ilande, where at his going thether he heard Masse, & without any conuersation with those of Monsambique he departed. And on the thirde of March he came to the Iland of Saint Blase, where he stayed to take in his water, and to victuall himselfe of Sea woulfes, and of Solitarius, which they salted to eate whilest they were on the sea, and for the same they gaue God great thanks. After that they were departed from thence (being once befoze putte back with westerly winds) which blew right against them, God of his goodnes sent them so prosperous a winde, that on the twentieth of March, they hadde doubled the Cape of Buena Esperansa with great pleasure, forsomuch as all those that came thether were all in health and verie strong, and as they thought were all in good liking to arrive at Lishborne.

And finding here a colde Winde which endured well twentye dayes, did set them in a good forwardnesse towards the Ilande of Santiago, which by the Sea cardes was

was by the Pilots we known not to be at the uttermost a hundred leagues from thence. Some there were that thought themselves to be with the same, but it was not so.

Here that goodly and fayre winde did faile them, and forsomuch as the Captaine Generall would needs knowe where that he was, (for that hee coulde not tell) by reason there fell certeine showres which came from the landward, he commaunded to make as much waye as they coulde possible. And going after this sorte, on Thursdays being the xxv. of Aprill, he commaunded the Pilot to let fall his Plonnet, who founde that they were in xxv. fathome.

Yet in all that daye, sailing and keeping the selfe same course, the least water that they came to, was at xx. fathome, and therefore the Pilottes iudged themselves to be vpon the shoels Del zio Grands. All the rest of this voyage perticularlpe what adventures the Captaine Generall did passe, vntill such time as he came to the Ilande of Santiago, I coulde not come to the knowledge thereof, but only how that as they went nere to the same, Nicholas Coello to carry the king newes of this discouerie, did on a certeine night a parte himselfe from the Captaine Generall, and followed his course vnto Portingale, where hee arriued at a place called Cascais on the 1. of Iuly, in the yeare of our Lorde God. 1499. who informed the king of all that the Captaine Generall hadde past in the discouery of the Indias, and of the commodities that he had brought with him from thence. Of whose discouery the king was so gladd to heare of, and that they might trade into the Indias by sea, as when he was proclaimed king of the kingdomes of Portingale. Now after that the Captaine Generall founde missing Nicholas Coello hee went forwarde on his course towarde the Ilande of Santiago, for because his Brother was verie sicke of a Tyficke, and also for that his Shippe made but small waye, for that shee was all open, and therefore hee  
di d



## *The Conquest*

did fraight there a Caruell which he found there for to car-  
rye him to Portingale before that he should dye, who left  
there Iohn de Sala for Captaine of his ship as I sayd be-  
fore, who as soone as the ship was new rigged, had charge  
to bring the same to Portingale, from the which place the  
Generall departed, with his brother in the Caruell, whose  
infirmite did dayly increase, in such sort that the Captaine  
Generall was driuen to beare with the Iland of the Ter-  
ceras. And being there arriued, commaunded that his bro-  
ther might be brought a lande, where he was so cruellie  
handled with his disease that he dyed thereof, who at his  
end shewed himselfe to be a good and perfect christian, and  
a very honest Gentleman. After that he was dead and bu-  
ried, the Captaine Generall departed toward portingale,  
who came to Belen in the moneth of September, in the  
selfe same yere. 1499. being two yere & two moneths past  
after his departure fro Lisborne, with 108. men & of them  
came backe but fiftie aliue, which considering they great  
trauaile and trouble that they had past, was verie much.  
After that the Captaine Generall had given God greates  
thanks for that he had escaped so many great daungers, he  
sent word of his arriual vnto the king of Portingale, who  
for the great pleasure that he receiued of his comming sent  
Don Diego de la Silva de Meneses, Lord of portugalete,  
with many other Gentlemen to receiue him as they did, &  
brought him vnto y court w an exceeding great number of  
people, that came thether to see so new & rare a matter, as  
that was of y Captaine General, not onely for that he had  
done, but also for that they took him for dead: being come  
to the kings presence, his highnesse gaue him so great an  
honour as such a one deserued, who by the discoverie of the  
Indias, did giue so great a glorie vnto the eternall God,  
and honour and profit to the crowne and kingdome of Por-  
tingale, and a perpetuall fame to all the world. Afterward  
he made him knight, & to him and to his heires for ever he  
gaue for armes the royal armes of Portingale, & also to set  
at the foote of the Scutchin two Does the which they call  
Gammas.

Gamas. Also he gaue him towarde this his liuing three hundred thousand Ceis a yeare, the which may be worth of our money 200. pound a yeare, and this to be paid out of the tiths of the fish in the village of sinis. Moreover he promised him to make him Lord of the said village, so long much as he was borne there. And vntill such time that he could giue him y<sup>e</sup> same, he allowed him a thousand crotons a yeare, the which he did well perfourme, from that time forwarde, and after that he had receiued the possession thereof, he did passe it ouer vnto the house appointed, for the contraction of the Indias. Moreover he graunted him that after the trade of the Indias was setteled or established, that then he might lade for his own account to the sum of, 200. Duckats in spices, & that without paieng for the same any custome at all. Also he gaue him other possessions & rents and a bill of remembraunce to make him Lorde. As for Nicholas Coello, he made him a Gentleman of his house, and gaue him possessions, and did allowe him some recompence toward his charges. The king himselfe with this new discoverie did increase his titles with a newe and a famous stile, of Lorde of the conquest and nauigation of Aethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and of the Indias.

How the king of Portingale did nominate A Pedro al Verez Cabral for Captaine Generall of a Fleete towarde Calicut, for to settle there a factorie, and of his departure from Lishborne. Chap. 28.



Being certainlye knowne to the king of Portingale, that from his kingdome there is a nauigation to the Indias, and also of the innumerable riches, that there are in those parts among the Gentiles, sundrye Christians, did therfore determine to prosecute and followe the discoverie of the same, giuing all praise and laude vnto the eternall God, for his great bene-

The preparation, vnto y<sup>e</sup> second voyage.



## The Conquest

fits that he hath bestowed vpon him, to let him be the first that hath discovered this new worlde, the which hath alwayes bene so close vpon the Sea, that there hath bene none in all Europe that durst aduenture that waye. But hee not rememb'ring the trouble of his spirite, neither yet the spending of his treasure, nor the daunger of his subiects, woulde nevertheless take this most famous enterprize in hande, for that there might bee in the Indias published the Evangelicall lawe, to the ende that those kinde of lost people, might receiue the same, as also for the increasing, not onely of his owne treasure, but generallye the benefite of all his subiects.

And that the same might take the better effect, hee determined to giue the attempt (if it were possible) to settle a Factorye in Calycut by gentlenesse, for as hee once vnderstode that the dwellers in the same were inclined to trade, he thought that after this sort there wold grow betwene them and vs conuersation, and so a friendshippe, the which might bee an occasion that they woulde incline themselues to heare the worde of God preached. And beeing thus fullye determined, hee commaunded to bee in a readinesse against the next yeare following, a flete of ten shippes and two Caruells, which shoulde goe well laden with all such thinges as Vasco de la Gama shoulde in forme him to bee spent in Calycut. Also there went others towarde Sofala and Quylor, where also hee commaunded certeine Factoryes to bee setteled, not onely for the golde which they haue there, but also that theyr shippes might alwayes touch there. And concerning such as shoulde bee appointed for Calycut, he named for Captaine Generall of this flete, a Gentleman called Pedro Aluares Cabral, who came of an honourable house of the Cabralls, and for his pettie Captaine, a Gentleman called Sancho de Toar. The names of the other Captaines as manye as I knowe were these, Nicholas Coelho, Don Luis continuo, Simon de Myseranda, Simon Deyton, Bartholome Dyas, who discovered the Cape Buena Esperanca, Dyego Dyas, his

The  
names of  
the Gener-  
alls, Cap-  
taines, &  
Factors.

his brother, & which went before for purser with Vasco de la Gama. Those that wer Captaines of y<sup>e</sup> Caruels were one Pedro de Taide, and Vasco de la Siluera, and for Factor of the whole flete, was one Aries Correa, who lykelike should remaine for factor in Calycut, and for his clarkes there were appointed one named Gonsalo Gyl Barbasa, & Pedro vas Cananon. Of this flete there shoulde remaine and staie with the Merchants and Merchandise in Sofala two ships, and with the same shoulde continue for factor one called Loriso Hurdato. In this flete ther went. 1500. men. The Articles which the Captaine Generall carryed in his instructions, besides those of the setting of the Factory was, y<sup>e</sup> if so be y<sup>e</sup> the king of Calycut would not quietly consent, or giue sufficient lading, for those ships which he carried no consent to haue the factorie settled there: That then he should make him most cruell war, for the iniury which he shewed vnto Vasco de la Gama. And if so be that the factorie might be quietly setteled, then he should request the king in secret that he doe not consent in Calycut, or in anye other of his harbours belonging to his kingdome, any of the Moores of Meca to remaine ther, forsomuch as hee would send him from hence forth all such Merchandise as they doe bring, and that farre better cheap than they doe sell the same. Moreover, that in theyr waye they doe touch at Milinde to let ther a land the Embassador, which Vasco de la Gama brought from thence, and to sende the king a present. Also the king did send with the flete five Friers of the order of Saint Frauncis, of whome went for Vicar, a frier called Fraij Henrique, the which was afterward Bishop of Sieba, and he to remaine in the Factory, to preach the Catholike faith vnto the Malabars. The flete being dispatched, the king in person on Sunday being the viii. of March went to heare Masse at the Monasterie of Belem, going thether in Procession, hauing the Captaine Generall, the which heard Masse with him, within the curten, for on that sort, he ment to giue honour to such as did serue him in such dangerous affaires as this was.

Friers sent  
to the Ma  
labars.



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The Masse was said after the Portingale order, and at the same there was a Sermon made by Don Diego Ortiz, who was then Bishoppe of Vyleu, who gaue great praise vnto the Captaine Generall for accepting the saide voyage at the kings hands, since that therby he did not onely serue the king, who is his temporall Lord, but also the eternall God, who is spirituall. And also that euery one might wel know that none of all the nobles, the which are so highlye commended as well in the Grecian histories as in the Latine and barbarous, was equall vnto the Captaine Generall in taking vpon him this voyage. And further he gaue him other greates prayles for the which hee was enuyed at, the Masse being ended, there was a Banner which had the royall armes of Portingale, vpon the same deliuered vnto the Bishoppe, who after that hee had blessed the same, the king with his owne hand did deliuer it vnto the Captaine Generall, for to bestowe it in his maine toppe. And after that hee had receiued the same, he tooke at the Bishops hands a bonnet or night cap the which the Pope had blest, and sent for a great iewel, and with his owne hands did put the same on the Captaine Generalls head, saying that he did present vnto him a iewel the which he did much esteeme. And afterward that the Bishop had giuen him his blessing, the king with the same did accompanie him to the water side, where the Captaine generall with all the Captaines of the fleet took their leaue of the king, and did kisse his hands, and the king gaue them Gods blessing & his, with the which they went all a boorde, from whence they shot off all the ordinance that was in the Fleet, the which made a wonderfull noise. The king being returned to Lisbonne, for that the Fleet could not that day depart, by reason of the weather. The next day which was the ninth of March, in the yeare of our Lorde, 1500. hauing a sufficient good gale of winde, with the which the Fleet might goe out of the Riuer. The Captaine Generall did then make a signe that the rest of the Fleet shoulde wepe their Ankoys, the which immediatly they did

A ieuell  
of great  
price.

did begin with great diligence and triumph that the Mariners made. And when it was eight of the clocke in the morning the whole Fleete hauing wayed, did then begin to cut and spread their sayles with a great pleasure, and crie saing altogether, Buen viage, that is to say, A luckie and prosperous voyage. After all this they beganne all to be ioyfull, every man to vse his severall office, the Gouernour in the midst of the ship, haling the maine sheetes, with the Capteine. The Mariners and ship boyes, some in the forecastell haling bollings, braces, and Martnets: other beleyng the sheetes both great and small, and also seruing in trimming the sayles, and others the nettings and foretop sayles, other some vering the trusses and also beleyng braces and toppe sayle sheetes, and coping every sort of ropes. It was wonderfull to see such a number of diuersities of offices, in so small a rowne, as is the breadth and length of a ship. All the Fleete being vnder sayle, departed that daye without anye stay by a quarter winde, and being with the same vnder sayle, on the xiiij. of March, they came within the sight of the Canaries, and on the xxij. of the same moneth, they past by the Island called Santiago, and on the xxiii. of the same moneth, they lost the company of one of their ships, of the which went for Captaine one Vasco de Tayde, who was Captaine of the Fleete also, although he neuer declared the same, the which neuer after was scene.

¶ How the Captaine generall came vnto Brasill, and afterward how there was lost foure ships of the Fleete. Chap. 29.



This ship being thus gone, the Captaine generall tarried for the same two dayes, and on the xxliij. of Aprill they did descry land, of the which they were verie glad, not only for that they had discovered the same, but because that the Pilots supposed the



## The conquest

saith to be some other land, that Vasco de la Gama had not  
discovered, for that it stood to the East, and immediately the  
Captaine Generall commaunded his Master to goe in his  
small boate and to see what kinde of people were those that  
dwelt in the sayd Countrey, who returned with an an-  
swere, saying, that the same lande was a goodly sayre and  
fertill Countrey, in the which there were great store of  
woodes, and that there walked many men along the water  
sides with this newes, the Captaine generall came to an  
Anko, & sent once more his Master with great diligence to  
informe himselfe of the Countrey and of their dwellings,  
and found that the people were of colour somewhat blacke,  
and men well proportioned, howbeit they went all naked,  
having both bowes and arrowes. But when night was  
come, there fell so great a storme that the Captaine generall  
with all the rest of the flete, were faine to wey their An-  
kors, and runne along the Coast, untill such time as they  
found a good Port, in the which they came to an Anko, un-  
to the which the Captaine generall did giue for name, Pu-  
erto seguro, forsomuch as the same serued for all wethers.  
There out men took two men of that Countrey, the which  
went in an Alouall, who were brought before the Cap-  
taine generall, that he might informe himselfe what Coun-  
try that was, which could not be known notwithstanding,  
forsomuch as there was none in all the flete that could vn-  
derstand them, by any tokens or signes. The Captaine ge-  
neral seeing y<sup>e</sup> ther was no meanes for to informe himselfe  
by the, commaunding to giue them apparell, y<sup>e</sup> the others might  
be desirous to bring the victuals to sel, w<sup>th</sup> other things which  
they had in their country, & with this they went their way,  
w<sup>th</sup> great ioy of y<sup>e</sup> Captain generals gift. And when they were  
come a land amongst their companions, & they perceiued their  
good entertainment, did aduenture to come to conferre with  
our men. The Captain general finding himself indifferently  
in this country, did determine to take in fresh water to co-  
fort his men w<sup>th</sup>all, for y<sup>e</sup> he knew not when he shuld chance  
w<sup>th</sup> like opportunitie. And for y<sup>e</sup> God might y<sup>e</sup> rather aid the,  
be

he commaunded on the next day, which was on Easter weeke,  
 a Masse shuld be said a land, & which was so done w<sup>th</sup> great  
 solemnitie & that vnder a pauillion, in which ther was made  
 a Sermon by Fraij Henrique, Doctor of Diuinitie. And  
 whilst the diuine seruice was a celebrating, there assembled  
 many of the countrey people together, which shewed theselues  
 to be very merry w<sup>th</sup> plaieng & leaping which they made, be-  
 sides their sounding vpon cornets, horns, & other instrumēts.  
 After Masse was ended, & that the Captaine generall was go-  
 ing a ship board, these people went to him vntil he took his  
 boat, singing & making a thousand manner of pastimes: this  
 day after dinner, the Captaine general gaue our men license to  
 go a land to buy & sell w<sup>th</sup> them, which they did, & in truck of  
 paper & cloth they gaue them parrats, & other sundry sort of  
 birds, which were all very faire, wherof they haue great ab-  
 undance, with the which they make fethered hats & night  
 caps, which are very gallant. Some of our men the went to  
 see their townes do declare the same is a goodly countrey &  
 fertill of woods, w<sup>th</sup> great store of goodly waters, & plentie of  
 fruits, & that ther is gathered in the same gret quantitie of coe-  
 ten. And for the this countrey is the which we cal Brasil, which  
 to all men is common, I will not speake of the same further,  
 but only the in vii. daies that the Captaine generall staid ther,  
 was seene a fish, which the sea did call a land, the was greater  
 then any Tonel, & of the breadth of two of the, howbeit he was  
 round: the head & eyes were much like vnto a hogge, his eares  
 like vnto an Elephants, he had no teeth, but vnder his bel-  
 ly he had two issues, his taile was three quarters of a yard  
 in breadth, & as much in length, his skinne, was lyke vnto  
 a Hogges skine, which was a finger thicke. In this Is-  
 lande the Captaine generall commaunded to be erected a  
 high Crosse of stone, and therfore he gaue the same to name  
 La tierra de Santa Cruz. From hence he sent a Caruell  
 which he brought forth with him for the same purpose,  
 with letters vnto the King his Lorde, of all that which  
 had chaunced him vnto this place, and how that he had left  
 there two bannished men of those twentie, the which

Ornaments  
 made  
 of Parrats  
 feathers.

The coun-  
 trey of  
 Brasil dis-  
 couered



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he carried with him, to the ende they might better enforme themselves what Countrey that same was, and whether it were a firme lande, as it did appeare vnto them all, by the great distance of the Coast that they had found, and because of the great voyage which he had taken in hande to make, he could not send to know perfectly. With this Caruel he sent a man of that Countrey for a shew, by what kinde of people the same was inhabited. This Caruell being departed, the next day after being the second day of May, the Captain generall departed with all his Fleet, bearing his course toward the Cape Buena esperanza, the which was from thence almost 1200 leagues, which is a great and fearfull gulph to passe, by reason of the great windes which doe course in those partes, most of the time. And being vnder sayle in the same, on the xii. of Maye there appeared in the Element a great Comet with his beames, the which came out of the Orient, and for the space of x. dayes did alwayes appeare as well in the night as in the daye, alwayes enlarging his beames. On Saturday being the xiiii. of May, there came amongst all the Fleet such a storme from the North-east, that all the Fleet was faine to take in their sayles, hauing the Seas very high mingled with pretie showres of raine. And for that the same storme was afterwarde somewhat abated, they brought themselves vnder their foresayles againe, and at night the winde being altogether calme, such ships as wer left behind, did spred out also their spyt sail, to ouertake those y<sup>e</sup> went before. And going by after windes, & following their course by the South, the Sunday being the xviii. of May, the winde beganne to increase, which was the occasion that the Captaine generall commanded their sailes to be taken in, and to fardle by their spyt sailes, the which being done, the like did all the other Captaines, and going on this sort on Sunday, betwene x. and xi. of the clocke of the day, did begin to arise in the North-west a spowte, with the which the winde calmed in such sorte, that the sailes did beate against the Mast, and the Pilots being (not as yet acquainted with the secret signification of a spowte) for that they

A Comet  
scene in  
the element

The  
of  
the  
of

they had not frauayled those Seas, thought the same to be a signe of faire weather, and of great calmes: by reason whereof, they neuer made any kinde of alteration in any thing, appertaining to their sayles. Upon this on a Sundaye, there came such a winde and so furious, that then they had no time to amayne and take in theyr sayles, by reason whereof, there were foure Shippes sunke without escaping one person of them all, and of one of these was Captayne one Bartholomew Dias. The other seauen remained halfe full of water, which they had taken in, which lykewise had sunke, if so be that parte of theyr sayles had not bene tozne.

four ships  
sunke by  
tempest.

And after that the winde verred to the Southwest they bare with the same, the which was so great that they were driuen to rone all that daye and the next night following without sailes, so that the one could not see the other, & howsoeuer as yet the returne of any other wind was not come, they were driuen to such daunger that they thought there by they should lose their liues, forsomuch as the rest of the Fleete was so cast away before their eyes, wherewith they were stricken into a very great pensiuenesse. The next day the winde being somewhat incalmed, with the same the Fleete did ioyne themselues together againe, and immediately after, the winde came to the East and Northeast, which was so great that it made the Seas to goe higher then euer they did before, and so the same endured the space of xx. dayes: and all this time the shippes laye a hull, although they proued fye times to hoyle vp their sayles, as aforesaid. Now the Seas went so high to all theyr iudgements, they thought it vnpossible for the shippes to escape: for ouer and besides that, by the working of them it was thought, that sometime they did hoyle vp theyr shippes aboue the Element, and other times when the shippes began to descend, they fell as it were downe a monstrous hill, that they feared they should be all swallowed vp in the Intrailes of the Earth.

A vvoder  
ful storme  
and great  
Seas.

In the daye the water was of the colour of pitch, and



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in the night of fire. The tackling with the other furniture of the Shippes, with the great force of the winde, made such a terrible noyse, and was so fearefull to heare, that the same is incredible to be beleued, but by those onely that endured and passed the same, with the force of this, the Fléete was separated into sundry places. The Capitaine Generall bare vp with Symon de Myranda, and Pedro de Tayde, whether the winde would carry them; all the others went at Gods mercie.

Of the meeting of the King of Quiloa & the Capitaine generall, at which time there was set downe a Trade and Factorie, and how the King repented himselfe of the same afterward. Cap. 30.



After that the Capitaine Generall had past with parte of his Fléete, these great stormes diuide finde him selfe to haue doubled the Cape, without anye sight of the same, hauing in his company no more then two Shippes, which bare alwayes vp with him. And the Lorde hauing bled alwaies towarde them his wonderfull great mercie, he came within sight of the lande the sixteenth day of July, towarde the which he commaunded to beare, howbeit the Pilots did not knowe the same, notwithstanding they found that it stode in the altitude of xxvii. degrées, they were so neere vnto lande, that the Shippes laye with their beake heads close to the same. But the Capitaine generall would not consent that anye of his men shoulde goe a lande: yet from their Shippes they might easilye perceine, that the same was well inhabited,

for the great number of people they did see there, and yet of all those there came none to the water side, to see what we were.

After that he sawe that there was no hope to haue anye refreshing from thence, hee did afterwarde procure the same from the Sea, where there was great plentie of fish, where our men was driven to fish for it. Afterwarde the Captaine generall commaunded to wepe their Ankers, and to followe his course, so nere vnto the shore, that he might well see great numbers and store of sundrye beastes, which fed along the Riuer, that entred into the Sea, and also they sawe many people.

Now going on that sort, the Captaine generall did passe vnto Sofala, with the which as yet the Pilot was not acquainted, and being nere to the same, he sawe two Ilandes and right ouer against one of them there was riding at an Anker two Shippes, which as soone as they had discovered our flecte, did beginne to flye away towards the shore. And for that the Captaine generall sawe that they fledde, he commaunded to followe them, which was done in such sort that our men did ouertake them, and tooke some of them prisoners, for that they did not defende themselves, and concerning the chiefest person that was in these Shippes, the Captaine Generall was aduertised that he was the King of Mylyndes nere kinsman, and was going from Sofala laden with Golde to Mylynde. Who confessed, that when they had descryed our Ships, they receiued such a feare, as though they shoulde be taken, and that therefore they did throwe the most part of theyr Golde into the Sea, and they themselves ranne a lande.

They cōe  
to Sofala

After that all this was done, y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general told him that he was very sorry for theyr so great mischance & losse, in especially for so much as the King of Mylynde was in so great a credite with the King of Portingale his Master, which is the occasion, that all Portingales are and shall be alwayes at his commaundement. And hauing shewed

¶ ii.

vnto



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unto him great courtesie, he commaunded the Shippes to be retourned with all the golde they hadde founde in the same.

The Moze asked of him whether he had brought with him any Witches, that they might with words of inchantment fetch vp such golde as was throwen into the Sea.

To whom the Captaine generall made aunswere, that the Christians doe beleue in the true God, who hath and doth defende them so, that they doe not vse nor beleue in witchcraft, and therefore they do not vse the same. Of this Moze the Captaine generall was aduertised, that he hadde somewhat ouer runne Sofala, and for that he would not returne backe, he did at this time leaue it, and hauing dispatched the Moze, followed his course, and on the xx. of July arrived at Monsambique, where he tooke in his water, and a Pilot to carry him to the Ilande of Quiloa, toward the which he directed his course, running along the Coast. In this his voyage he saw sundry profitable Ilands which were belonging to the King of Quiloa, which as I haue declared is a great Prince, and is Lord from the Cape De las correntes, almost vnto Mombassa, which is welneere foure hundred leagues of Coast, in the which there doe enter the two Ilands that I haue spoken of before, ouer and besides Sofala, and other sundry Townes vnto Monsambique, and from thence as many moze vnto Mombassa, with an infinit number of Ilandes, that doth yeld him great rents. Notwithstanding as touching his estate it is but small, for he is not able to make many men of warre: his abode is alwayes in Quiloa, in a certaine Ilande, which is a hundred leagues beyond Monsambique in the Coast of Aethiopia, nere to the firme lande, the which is verie fertill of Orchards, and Woodes, that beare sundry sorts of fruites, there are excellent good waters, and also they doe ripe great store of Miso, and other seedes which they doe sow, and there is bred vp in the same great store of small Cattell. In those Seas there is great plentie of fish, and that verie good. So that what with the victualls that they haue in the lande,  
and

The king  
of Quiloa  
a mightie  
Prince.

and what there commeth from other places of the firme land, the Citie is plentifully provided, which citie is compassed about with faire gardens on the one side, & with the sea on the other, which causeth the same to shew very pleasant, it standeth in ix. degrees to the South, & is also greete and full of people. Their houses are made of lime & stone, in the which there are goodly chambers. Their king is a Moore, and so are the inhabitants, the naturall people of the Countrie are a kinde of blacke people, and those that are strangers are white, their common language is Algaruia. They doe apparell themselves very richly, in especiall the women, for they carry alwaies vpon them great store of iewels of gold. They are great Merchants, for their trade is of the gold that commeth from sofala, and from this citie it is dispersed to all the Countrie of Arabia Felix, & other places, and therfore there resort thether many merchants from other places. Ther are alwaies in this port many ships which lyeth alwayes a ground when they haue no need of the. These ships haue no nailes, but are sowd together w<sup>th</sup> ropes made of Cairo, & pitched ouer with wildincense, for because as in all y<sup>e</sup> countrie there is no other kind of pitch. The winter in this countrie doth begin in Aprill, & maketh an end in September. The Captaine Generall being come to the harbour of this Citie, and hauing obtained of the king a safe conduct that hee might send him a messenger, did send vnto him Alonso Hurtado, who went accompanied with seauen of the principals of their ships, and that they might shew themselves in more countenance & authoritie, they went in their best apparell. When hee came before the king, he represented vnto him the message which the Captaine Generall gaue him, which was to signifie vnto him y<sup>e</sup> he was come thether with y<sup>e</sup> king of Portugale his Maisters flete, to settle a trade in y<sup>e</sup> citie, & to the same end had brought with him great store of merchandise y<sup>e</sup> were conuenient to be spent in y<sup>e</sup> countrey, & therfore he was desirous to talk with him therein, howbeit y<sup>e</sup> king his Maister did countermand him y<sup>e</sup> in any wise he shuld not leap a

The description of the city of Quylca.

Shippes without nailes.




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land, but make the agreement a sea word, forasmuch as that is the auncient custome which the Captaines doe alwaies obserue in his countrie, because if it so be ther shuld chance any misfortune to their general, which is their head, immediately are cast away the rest that are vnder his gouernment. To this the king made answer with a good countenance, if he was also desirous to see the Captaine Generall, and to speak with him a sea word, since there was no other remedie, Alonso Hurtado hauing receiued this answer, made if Captaine Generall priuie therof, who if next day after tarried for if king in his boat, which was couered ouer & set out with flags. There did attend vpon him al the rest of if Captaines in their boates, & at this present arrived there, Sancho de Toar with other two ships. The king thus being looked for, at the length he came in an Almadrá, being well accompanied with sundrie Gentlemen in other boats, likewise furnished, which also were set out with flags, and had in them those that sounded vpon trumpets & cornets, & Sagbuts, which made a wonderfull great noise. Now the king being come where the Captaine Generall was tarrieng for him, all his ordinance went of in such sort & with such a force, that it made the sea to tremble, wherewith the king and all his traine, forsomuch as they were not accustomed vnto the same, were greatly afeard. As soone as the ordinance went of, the king & the Captaine General met, & that with great pleasure. And after that the king of Portugales letter was read, which was for if setting of a trade in his citie, he answered that he was contented therewith, & did agree that the next day he should send Alonso Hurtado a land, to tell him the sorts of the merchaundise that he had brought with him, & he wold giue him gold for if same. Upon this agreement Alonso Hurtado was sent a land the next day following, howbeit he found the king far from if whiche was agreed vpon with if captain general if day before, yelding therfore sundry excuses, why he could not accomplish his promise, in especial for if he had no need of his merchandise, & also for if he beleued that if Captaine generall came the,

The meeting of if king & if Captaine Generall.

A malicious & full More

whether to take his country from him. This sodeine chance was for this cause, forsomuch as he was a Moore, and we were chzistians, it græued him to haue any conuersation or trade with vs. This being come to y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generalls knowledge, he did as yet tarre three or foure dayes, to see whether y<sup>e</sup> the king wold change any thing of his determination or not, howbeit he did nothing alter his mind, but rather had our men in iealousie, fearing least that he shuld be driuen to do y<sup>e</sup> by force, which he was loth to do, & therefore did fortifie himselfe with many men in a readinesse. As sone as the Captaine Generall heard of his dealing, he would spend no more time there, but departed toward Milinde, keeping alwaies along the coast. How the king of Milinde and the Captaine Generall met together, and how hee departed afterwards toward Calicut. Chap. 31.

 In the second day of August, he came to an anko<sup>r</sup> in the port of Mylinde, where hee found riding at an anko<sup>r</sup> three ships of y<sup>e</sup> Moors y<sup>e</sup> which were of y<sup>e</sup> Merchants of the kingdome of Cambaya, but he would not meddle with them, although they were laden w<sup>th</sup> great riches, because of y<sup>e</sup> king of Milinde. Being come with al his fleet to an anko<sup>r</sup>, he saluted y<sup>e</sup> citie w<sup>th</sup> all his ordinance. The king with this sent to visit him, sending also vnto him for a present, both sheep, ducks, & hens, w<sup>th</sup>out all number, besides sundrie sorts of fruits. Then y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general sent likewise to kisse his hands, by one of his fleet, & also to signifie vnto him, y<sup>e</sup> whether he was come by his Master y<sup>e</sup> king of Portingales commandement, to know whether he had any need of this fleet to do him seruice w<sup>th</sup>all, & also to certifie him, y<sup>e</sup> he had to deliuer vnto him a rich present, with a letter, the which y<sup>e</sup> King his master had likewise sent vnto him, which he wold send whēsoener he wold command y<sup>e</sup> same, with this message y<sup>e</sup> king shewed himself to be wel pleased, & commanded the messenger to remaine with him that night, with whom he talked and spent most part thereof in matters of Portingale.

And



## The Conquest

The kings  
message  
to y<sup>e</sup> Cap-  
taine Ge-  
nerall.

And as soone as it was day the king sent by two principall  
Mozes word vnto the Captaine Generall, that he was ve-  
ry glad of his comming, and also to knowe whether he had  
heard of anye thing in his countrie which he might com-  
maund as his owne, and make as much account thereof,  
while he was there, as if he were in Portingale, conside-  
ring the greate good will which hee doth owe vnto the king  
of Portingale, and that in all his affaires he shuld make as  
much reckoning as of his owne home. The Captaine Ge-  
nerall hauing well vnderstood the kings message, vpon the  
same determined to send him the kings letter, which hee  
had brought, and also the present, which was all the furni-  
ture of a Jennet horse, which was also both rich & gallant.  
And hauing taken his counsel vpon y<sup>e</sup> same, it was agreed  
vpon to send it, and that Aries Correa should haue the ca-  
riage thereof, so much as hee was the factor of the whole  
Fleete, and also so that hee went so factor to the king  
of Calicut, and that he should so goe accompanied with the  
principalls of the Fleet, besides the trumpeters, that should  
goe alwaies sounding before him, which was so done. The  
king being informed of y<sup>e</sup> coming of Aries Correa, sent of  
the nobles of his Court to receiue him, which might the  
more easilye be done, so that the kings pallaice was hard  
by the water side, and going altogether, there were cer-  
teine women which by the kings commaundement were  
farrgeng for their comming, with perfuming pans in their  
hands, out of the which there came so excellent a perfume,  
that it did replenish the whole earth therewith. And passing  
after this sorte by these women, hee came to the kings pal-  
laice, who was sitting in his chaire of estate, and accompa-  
nyed with many noble me<sup>n</sup> & Gentlemen, who also receiued  
Aries Correa with great honour and pleasure, and also the  
present. Afterward he gaue him the letter which was writ-  
ten on both sides, on the one side was Portingale, the other  
in the Arabian tongue, which the king commaunded forth-  
with to be read, which both he and all the nobilitie were  
very gladde to heare. And all they together with a lowde  
voice

voice gaue God and Mahom great thanks that they had permitted them to haue friendship w so great a Prince as y king of Portingale. And also being very wel pleased with the furniture of the Jenet, he requested Aries Correa to stay with him, whilest the flete did there remaine, which with the Captaine Generalls license he did, & during the three daies that he was with him, almost he spent his time in no other thing, but to knowe the vse & custome of the king of Portingale, & of the order of his gouernment, & also particularly as though y he did remember no other matter all y time, & being desirous to see y Captain general, did procure with as much diligēce as he could to haue him a land, & to bring him to his pallaice, notwithstanding he made his excuse, saing, y the king his master had commanded him not to come a land in any port, with this answer y king was diuen to encounter with him vpon the water, who would needs go as far as y water side on horseback, with y furniture of a Jenet y the king of Portingale had sent him. And for y in his country he had none y could tel y order therof, he requested one of our men to do so much. And when the king had all things in a redines, ther wer farrieng for him certein of y principals, at y foot of a staire, & amongst them ther was brought a liue sheep, which whilest y king was coming down, they did open as he was aliue, & after y they had taken out his guts & bowels, they laid y same vnder y horse feet. The king being now on horsebacke he went also with his horse vpon y sheepe, which is a kinde of cerenion y the witches ther do vse. After y he had thus troden vpon the sheepe, he went toward y water side, with all his company after him a foot, saing w a lowd voice certein words of witchcraft. And after this sozt he met with the Captaine Generall vpon y water, where he deliuered him a Pilot to carrie him to Calycut. Where there were leste with the king two of those banished men that they might enforme themselves of the countrie, as farre as in their strength, one of those was called afterwarde Machado, who after that hee had gotten the Arabian language, went by lande

Paganisti  
superstitio



## The Conquest

unto the Straights, and from thence vnto the kingdome of Cambaya, from whence he did passe to Balagarte, and did there settle himselfe, with the Sabayo, that was Lorde of Goa, saing, that he was a Moze, and for the same, he was taken in all that Countrie, this his trauell was very profitable to Alonso de Albuquerque, as you shall perceiue hereafter.

How the Captaine Generall arriued at Calycut, and how the king sent to visit him a boord his ship, and also how afterward he came a land for to see him, and of his receiuing there. Cap. 22.



The king of Caly- cuts mes- sage to y Captaine Generall.

**T**he Captaine Generall being returned to his ships, departed toward Calycut, being the 7. day of August, & on the 20. he came to Anfadina, wher he staied certeine daies for the comming of the shippes of Meca, with intent to set vpon the if so be y they came thether. And whilest they were there, they did confesse themselves, and afterward did receiue the Sacrament, And they seeing that there came no ships, departed toward Calycut, and on the 13. of September he came to an anko within a league of the same. And immediatly there came certeine Almadias toward our flete, to sell victuals, & also there came certein Nayres of y most princpall belonging to y king of Calicut, with a certeine Guzarate merchant, by whom y king sent word vnto y Captaine General, y there could not haue happened a better thing vnto him then to vnderstand y he was come vnto his port, & that he could not do him no better pleasure the to command him, if ther were any thing in his citie y he had need of, & he would accomplish y same with great good wil: wher vnto y Captaine generall made answer with great thanks, & seeing w what good will y king sent to visit him, he brought himself to an anko nere vnto y citie, alwaies shooting of his ordinance, with y which he did salute the, which was so great a won-  
der

der to the dwellers, that those that were Gentiles said, that against vs there were no resistance. The next day following by the consent of the Captaines of the flecte, the Captaine Generall sent by one whose name was Gaspar, to demaund a safe conduct of the king for to send a messenger vnto him, sending also with the saide Gaspar those foure Malabars that Don Vasco de la gama had carried from Calicut. These went all apparelled in a gallant sort, after the Portingales order, whom all the citie came forth to see, who meruailed to beholde them to returne so well, which was the cause that they were so well pleased with our men, & that they were had in so great reputation. But forsomuch as these were but fisher men the king would not see the, although he was glad to vnderstand after what sorte they returned, & commaunded y the said Gaspar shuld be brought befoze him, whome he receiued very well. And after that he knew wherfoze he came, answered him, that whosoener of our men would come a lande, might without any feare at all. This answer being come to y Captaine Generalls eares, he sent presently vnto the king Alonso Hurtado, to signifie vnto him y the said flect belonged to the king of Portingale, of the which he went for Captaine Generall, and that his comming thether was for no other purpose but onely to settle w him a trade & friendship, for the which it was conuenient for him, to talke with him. Howbeit hee sayde, the king his Maister hadde commaunded him, that he shoulde not doe it, without he might for the assurance of his person, receiue some pledges to remaine in the shippes whilest hee was a lande with the king, and that the one of those pleadges should be the Catuall of Calicut, and Araxamenoca, the which is one of the principallest Nayres: And another there went with Alonso Hurtado, one that coulde speake the language, which shoulde declare vnto the king the effect of the message.

The king being heereof informed meruailed much to heare that the Captaine general did demaund those pledges,

Æ. ii.

which

The king of Calicut maketh excuses vwhen he should deliuer pledges



## The Conquest

which he did excuse to giue, forsomuch as they were sickly & olde, howbeit he said he would giue others that coulde better abide the bzannesse of the sea. But afterwards hee did insist very much, not to giue any pleadges at all, forsomuch as those that were Mozes were verve forrie to see our men in Calycut, and gaue the king couniell to sende none, for that in giuing of any he might wel iudge therein & the Captaine Generall had but little confidence in him, and by this meanes he should remaine dishonoured. Yet for al this Alonso Hurtado did still insist in his demaunde. In this encountrie they spent thzee daies. At the end the king hauing a desire to haue a trade settled with ours, for the benefit that might redound vnto him by the same, did consent to Alonso Hurtado his request, in giuing the pleadges that were demaunded, which being come to the Captaine Generalls knowledge, he began to make himselfe in a readinesse to goe and speake with the king, and to remaine a land thzee or foure daies, apointing in his place Sancho de Toar, to whom he gaue commaundement that there shuld be made for those pleadges at their comming aboord good entertainment, and to looke well vnto them, and not to deliuer them to any that should come to demaunde them, although they came in his name.

On the xxviii. daye of December the Captaine Generall put himselfe in his best apparell, and carryed with him thirtie of the principall men of his flecte, which shoulde remaine with him a lande, with others that were the kings seruauntes, which shoulde attende vppon him as vpon the kings owne person. Hee commanded also to bee carryed with him all the furniture for his Chamber and Kitchin, with his Cupboorde of Plate, in the which there were many rich peces of siluer gilted.

Nowe being with all these thinges in a readynesse to depart, there came from the Citie sundry principall Nayres, which were commaunded by the king to attende vppon the Captaine Generall, accompanied with manye men, besides others that came sounding vppon Trum-  
pets,

pets, other vpon Sackbuts and other instrumentes. <sup>Chap.</sup>  
 The Captaine generall being informed that the King was  
 tarrieng for him in a certaine Galerie, which onely for to  
 receiue him in, he had commaunded to be made harde by the  
 water side, toke his boate and went toward the Hoze, be-  
 ing accompanied with all the other boats of y<sup>e</sup> flecte, which  
 went all in good order, and set out with manye flagges and  
 trumpets, which being ioyned together as wel these as those  
 that came from the Citie, made a wonderfull noyse. With  
 this came those pledges aboord the Generalls ship, into the  
 which they were loath to enter, vntill such time that y<sup>e</sup> Cap-  
 taine generall did disembarked himselfe a lande, giuing ther-  
 by to vnderstand that they wer asfeard that they being once  
 aboord, he would returne againe into the flecte, and so take  
 them for captiues. They did stand so much vpon the same,  
 that Aries Correa was faine to tell them, that without a-  
 ny suspition they might enter into the shippe, forsomuch as  
 the Captaine generall was not come thether for to deceiue  
 the King, but onely for to get his good will, with this they  
 were contented, to goe aborde, yet it was with some feare,  
 that he would take them captiues. In the meane while that  
 we were about this the Captaine generall landed, where  
 there was tarrieng for him sundry Caymales and Pymaca-  
 les, and other principall Nayres, being accompanied with  
 many others. And befoze that the Captaine generall coulde  
 set his fete on the grounde, he was taken vp, and put in  
 an Andor or chaire, in the which he was carried to the Se-  
 rame, accompanied with the multitude aboue saide. Being  
 come to this place, he entered into a certaine house where  
 the King was, whome he founde in this order. The  
 house was hanged ouer with Carpets, or as they call them  
 Alcatifas, at the ende whereof, there was a certaine place  
 where the King was sitting, made much lyke vnto a lyttle  
 Chappell, and ouer the Kings head did hang the cloth of E-  
 state, of vnshorne Crimson velvet, and vnder him and about  
 him, were twentie cushions of silke. The King himselfe  
 was all naked, sauing that about his middle he had a cloth

Pledges  
 are sent a-  
 boorde,  
 vvhich  
 feare to be  
 taken cap-  
 tiue.

The king  
 of Caly-  
 cuts state  
 & furni-  
 ture.



## The conquest

made of Totten, which was white as snowe, and wrought  
ouer with golde. On his head he had a night cap of cloath  
of golde, which was made of the fashion of an head peece of  
skull. On his eares he had hanging certaine Jewellies, of  
Diamonds, Sapphyres and Pearles, of the which ther was  
two bigger then Walnuts. On his armes from the elbow  
to the hande he had sundrye Bracelettes of Golde, in the  
which there were precious Stones, and that without  
number, and of a wonderfull valewe. Moreouer on his  
legs from the knees downward, and on the fingers of his  
handes, and the toes of his fete, and especially on his great  
toe, there was a ring, in the which there was a Rubie so  
great and fine, that it gaue such a light as was wonderfull:  
amongst al which stones, ther was a Diamond bigger then  
a great Beane. But all this was nothing in comparison of  
his girdell, which was made of Golde and Stone that the  
same was aboue all price, and out of it there came such a  
resplendour of brightnes, that it blinded mens eyes to loke  
vpon it.

There stode harde by him a Chaire of Estate of golde  
and siluer, wrought in the best manner, full of precious  
stone, and of the selfe same sort was the Andor in the which  
he was brought from his Ballaice, which also stode there,  
Also there were twentie Trumpets, whereof seauentene  
were of siluer, and the other three of golde, the mouthes  
whereof, were finely wrought and set with stone. Also ther  
was a Basen of golde in the which he did spit, and certaine  
perfuming pans of siluer, out of the which, ther came an ex-  
cellent smell. And for estate sake ther wer lightned certain  
Lampes of Dyle, which were after the Moores order, the  
which were also made of siluer. Sixe paces from the

King, stode his two bzytheren, which were heires  
vnto the Kingdome after him, and some

what further off stode many Noble

men, they all standing by

right vpon they

fete.

Of

Of the meeting of the Captaine generall, and the King of Calycut and how there was deliuered vnto him the Kings present which he brought, and afterward what hapned. Chap. 23.



The Captaine generall being entered into this place, and viewing the Kings estate, wold haue gone to kisse the Kings handes, as it is commonly vsed amongst vs; but for that he was enformed by those that stode by, that it was not the vse and custome amongst them, he did it not. Howbeit ther was a Chaire appointed him that was hard by the Princes seate, in y which the Captaine generall did sit, that from thence he might declare his minde to the King, which was the greatest honoz that he could giue him. Being set downe, he delivered his letter of credite, which he brought from the King of Portingale, written in the Arabian tongue which being read by the King, y Captaine generall also told his message, the effect wherof was this, That y King of Portingale was desirous of his friendship, & to settle a Factorie in Calycut, in the which there shoulde be sufficient of all kinde of Merchandize that shoulde be spent there, & in trucke of the same, or for ready mony, he requested that he wold let him haue sufficient lading of spices for those ships there. The King shewed himselfe to be content with this Embassage, & answered the Captaine generall that he wold yeld the King of Portingale out of his Citie, all that he shoulde haue neede of. While they two were in this talke, came thether the present which the Captaine generall had brought, in the which wer these peeces, a Basen of silver and gilt wrought, a fountaine to the same, a Cuppe with his couer gilt, of the same worke, two Bases of silver, foure Cushions, two of them of cloath of golde, and other two of Crimson Welnet vnshorne, a Cloath of Estate of Golde, being welked and garded with the selfe same Golde, and of Crimson

The Captaine generall deliureth his letters of credite to the king of Calicut

The present which y generall brought with him



# The conquest

Crinson beluet a verve fine Carpet, two clothes of Arras, the which were very rich, the one with figures, and the other with græne workes. Of this present, and of the Embassage which the Captaine generall had done vnto him, as it appeared, the King was very glad, and tolde the Captaine generall that he might goe to his lodging to rest himselfe, or els to his ships as he would himselfe, for that he thought necessary to send for his Pledges, which are Gentlemen and daintely brought up, and could not alwaye with the Sea, to tarry there longer. And whilst they were ther, he was assured, that they would neither eate nor drinke for such was their custome. And if so be that the Captaine generall would goe to his ships, and come the next day againe, to make full agreement and consent about the order of the trade in Calicut, he would then send those Pledges againe. The Captaine generall hauing good confidence in those his wordes, went to his ships, leauing behinde him with his stuffe, Alonso Hurtado with other seauen. And being at the water side ready to departe, a seruant of one of those Pledges, went before aboord in a small Pinnace, and tolde them that the Captaine generall did retourne aborde, this messenger was sent by the commaundement of the Clarke and Controller of the Kings house, as who shoulde saye, to giue them counsaile to come their waye, which they did, as sone as they heard what the slaue had tolde them in their language, and with that they leapt into the Sea, thinking to take that Pinace in the which the slaue went. As sone as Arjes Correa saw this, he leapt into his owne boate, which was harde by the ships side with certaine of his Marriners and rowing with force took two of the Pledges, and also three or foure of those that were in the Pinace, the other fled and carried the Catuall with them, which was also one of the Pledges. This being concluded, the Captaine generall came aboord, who after that he had knowen what had passed, because that those Pledges the which he had in his custodie, should not retorne and misse their waye, he commaunded them to be put vnder the hatches of his ship, and

after

afterward sent to complain to the King of that which they had done, laing all the fault vpon the Clarke Controller. Also he sent worde after what sort they remained in his ship, promising, that if so be y<sup>e</sup> he wold send him his stuffe, & such of his men as remained a land, he wold immediatly sende those Pledges which he had: and for that it was night, there was no more at that time done. The next daye following, the King came to the water side, accompanied w<sup>th</sup> xii. thousand men, and sent with the Captaine General. stuffe and men, to the number of thirtie Almachas, for that they might returne with those Pledges that did remaine aboard, howbeit for all that they were so many, yet there durst none of them come nere the ships, for the feare they stood in of our men, which remained in the flecte, leass they wold take them, and so they returned with the same againe to land. The Captaine Generall seeing the feare that they stood in of his flecte, sent the next daye in certaine of his owne boates those Pledges that he had in custodie, commaunding that they should goe and see them deliuered from what alowe of from the fleet, that brought him his men and stuffe. And while they were deliivering the same, Araxamenoca which was the eldest of the Pledges, leaped into the water vpon a sodaine, with intent to runne away, but for all that he could not escape, forsomuch as our men caught handefast of him. The other that remained, whilist our men were thus busied fled lyke wise. The lyke did Alonso Hurtado practise with five of those that wer with him. The Captaine generall meruailed to see how little honestie or truth they bled, did therefore commaund Araxamenoca to be well looked vnto. And being three dayes past, and yet the King not sending for him, he had pittie to see him that in so many dayes he had eaten nothing, and ther vpon he sent him to the King, also he sent sondry weapons which were taken of his mens, and requested him to send the other two of his men that were yet a land, which the King did sende, heeing moued therevnto, more for shame then otherwise, for that he had broken his word & promise. Now being three dayes

p.

past

bold AT  
1112 202  
broods

Humaine  
pity in the  
Captaine  
generall  
toward  
saublelle  
Infidells



## The Conquest 10

past, and there came no kinde of aunſwere vnto the Cap-  
taine generall, thereby he had ſufficient tryall or vnderſtan-  
ding how variable he was, and therefore he woulde carrye  
no longer for his aunſwere, but ſent vnto him to knowe  
whether he wold make an ear of the agreement y was be-  
gun beſtowne them, and for the conſolation of the ſame he  
woulde ſende Arias Correa which came with him for Fac-  
tor. Howbeit for the better aſſurance therof, he willed him  
to ſend him certaine Pledges. This meſſage was ſent to the  
King by a certaine Gentleman called Francisco Correa,  
which did offer himſelf to carry the ſame, when all the reſt of  
the Fleet was aſcared, leaſt that the King woulde take him  
prisoner, or command him to be ſlaine. To this meſſage y  
king made anſwere y he was well pleaſed to agree to haue  
the Trade ſetled, and that he ſhoulde ſende vnto him Arias  
Correa about the ſame or whom els he ſhould thinke good.  
But firſt of all he tolde him that he woulde ſende two Ne-  
phewes of one Goſarate, which is a great rich Merchaut,  
for pledges, which indeed was ſo done. After that thoſe pled-  
ges were entred, immediately departed toward the land A-  
rias Correa, to whom the King commaunded to be giuen a  
faire houſe to lye and reſt himſelfe and to lay his Merchand-  
ize in, which he brought with him, which houſe belonged to  
Goſarate, who was Grandfather to thoſe two Pledges, that  
the king had ſent. But he commanded that ſo much as A-  
rias Correa, was yet not well knowne in the Countrey nor  
acquainted with their orders & prices how he might ſell his  
Merchandize, nor yet what the buyer ſhould giue, to inſtruct  
him therein. But he did not ſo, but rather cleane contrarie,  
ſo much as he was a friend to y Mozes of Meca, which  
were great enemies vnto our men, not onely for that they  
were Chriſtians, but for feare leaſt that for our cauſe they  
ſhould loſe part of their credit which they had in Calicut, by  
meanes wherof they toke their Merchandize for what price  
ſo euer they woulde themſelues. And alſo for the feare they  
conceiued of them many times, the Gentiles durſt not come  
out of their dozes.

The pled-  
ges ſent  
aboord.

They

They knew also that hauing our Factory settled there, they should be great losers, not onely in their Merchandize, which would be in valew lesse worth, as also in their Spices, Drugs & precious Stones, which would be more worth & better esteemed. And that was the cause that alwaies Aries Correa was overthwarted in all things y he went about to buy, with offering more then he did for the same, after y the price was by any of ours made, then euer they did before, so y by this meanes alwayes he was forced to pay the dearer for his drugs & spices. And if so be that at any time he would speake with y King, they did trauell all y they could, that some of them might be alwayes present to withstand & speak against him in all things. They did not this onely the selues, but found meanes also by Samicide, which was. Adam rall of the Sea of Calicut, & a naturall Moore, y he should not consent y those y remained in y Factory w Aries Correa shuld go aboard y Fleete, & moreover if any ship would presume to come nere to y Moore, not to consent y it shuld return, saying, y the King had given such comendement. The Captaine generall being aduertised of all this, & supposing the same to be of a suspition of treason, commanded to wey and bring him selfe vnder saile to goe out of that harbour, and there to enter into counsell with his Captaines what were best for him to do, for that he was ascard lest whilst y he remained in that harbour he might be set vpon by y King of Calicuts Fleete, & so be troubled. The King after y he knew what the Captaine generall had done, & that he minded to go his way, demaunded of Aries Correa the cause why he went out of his harbour, who answered him that he did not know certainly, wherfore without it were for the injuries which the Moores had done vnto him, & so told him y whole order, for that he knew the same. The King vpon this willed him to send againe for the Captaine generall, who immediately after that he knew, what the king had said, returned, & the King forthwith commanded that the Moores shuld not from thenceforth vse anye such villany. He also toke awaye the Gofarate from the companie of Aries Correa,

The Captaine generall had good cause to feare and hate the Moores



## The Conquest

A free  
house for  
the facto-  
ry giue to  
the king  
of Portu-  
gale by  
decree

unto whom he gaue charge to instruct him in the order of the Countrey, and did put in his place another which was a very honest man, and a friend of ours, (although he were a Moore) whose name was Cosebequin. This man was also in Calicut of good credite, and the head of all the Moores of the Countrey, that were naturally borne there, which were alwayes in controuersie with the Moores of the Cayro, and of the Straights of Mecca, of the which the Admirall was head. Also the King gaue commaundement, that to the end our Merchants which were in the Factorie might sell the better, and also buye theyr Spices at the better hande, and with quietnesse, they shoulde remoue theyr Factorie to a house of Cosebequin, the which stode harde by the water side. And of this house, a gifte was giuen to the King of Portingale for euer by writing, the Copie whereof, sozso much as the Captaine generall shoulde carry it with him, was inclosed in a Tablet of golde, to the which the King did set to his firme and seale, also the Kings pleasure was, that vpon the top of the house there should be set a flagge, with the royall armes of Portingale, that all men might knowe, that the same was his. Which after that the Captaine generall had knowledge of, he sent vnto the King great thanks for the same, and from that time forwarde they had indifferrent good sales by the helpe of Cosebequin, who did aide them therein. As soon as those of the Countrey had vnderstanding that our Factorie was by the King so fauoured, they lykewise did the lyke. Afterward our men might goe wheresoener they would without any molestation, and as sure as they might in Lishborne. So the friendshippe betwene them and our men, was afterward very good.

¶ How at the request of the King of Calicut, the Captaine Generall sent to take a shippe of the Moores, and also after what sort the same was taken.

¶ Whilest



Whilest this friendship continued betwene  
our men and the Citie, and they being in so  
great a friendship and concord one with a-  
nother, on the next saterday following there  
did appeare to those of Calycut, a greate  
ship of the Mozes, which was far off, going  
from Coching toward Cambaya. And as sone as y same  
was discryed, the king sent worde to the Captaine Gene-  
rall, requesting him that for his sake he would send to take  
the same ship, for oner and besides that, there were in the  
same certeine Elephantes, yet was there one which excee-  
ded them all, the which he woulde haue bought. And al-  
though he had offred for him moze then he was worth, yet  
he would not sell him. Albeit the owner was a dweller in  
Coching, and therefore he most earnestly requested him to  
send to take the sayd shippe, forsomuch as it did so highlye  
touch his honour and credit: vnto his request, the Captaine  
Generall made answer that he would doe it with a good  
will, although that he was informed that the sayd shippe  
was great, and that there were within it very many men  
both Marriners and souldiers, and that the same could not  
bee taken without some losse of men, and therefore it was  
requisite that he consented that his men might kill those y  
were in the ship, wherevnto the king agreed. This being  
concluded, the Captaine Generall commaunded that Pedro  
de Tayde with his Carnell, shoulde goe take the foresayd  
ship, and that there shoulde goe with him a young Gentle-  
man called Edwarte Pacheco, which was thought to bee a  
valiant souldier, and with these there was a 60. men.  
The king also sent certeine Mozes in the Caruel, that they  
also might view the order of their fighting. The Caruell  
being vnder saile gaue chase vnto the shippe till it was  
night, which being come, they lost sight of the same, and go-  
ing a long the coast all the quarter of the Moze, they sawe  
where he was riding at Anko, and then Edwarte Pacheco  
commaunded to beare with him, and found those Mozes  
with



## The Conquest

This ship  
for one in  
those  
coasts ve-  
ry vvel ap-  
pointed.

with their weapons in a readinesse to defend themselves withall, howbeit as they were hoisting by theyr Sayles, they easily iudged the same to be of 600. tun, and that within it there were 300. fighting men, the most parte whereof were bowe men, Edwarto Pacheco woulde not laye the same a bozde, so: that he was commaunded to the contrarie, but to sinke him if it were possible. And hauing brought him vnder his lye, he commaunded to amaine. The Mozes making as it were a mocke of the same, gaue a loud crye and plaide vpon their Instruments, and after this they shotte off certeine Ordinaunce which they had, and manye arrowes, making therewith a shew of readinesse that they were in. They were answered by our men with shot, of the which there chaunced a Pellette to strike harde vnder the bosome of the shippe betwene winde and water, where there was made a hole by the which there entered a great quantitie of water. After this they shotte againe, with the which there were many of them slaine & hurt, & the other trembled with the feare they had of our Ordinaunce, with this they bare toward the baye of Cananor, the which was harde by, where there were riding at an Anko: foure ships of the Mozes, amongst them hee came to an Anko:. Now being within the sayd Baye, arriued also with the Caruell Edwarto Pacheco, who commaunded his Ordinaunce to be shotte at them, and with the same had taken them all, if so be that there had not come certeine Paraos of the Mozes to succour them, the which were in the porte, and as they were fighting the night came on, which was the cause that al those Paraos were not by him destroied. In al these encounters there was no more then nine hurt of our men, which was done by their arrowes.

Next night being come, Edwarto Pacheco brought himselfe forth of the Baye and came to Anko: harde by an Ilande, so: that hee was there more surer then in the Bay, whereas they might haue sette his shippe on fire. And although that it were contrarpy to his commission, yet, so: all that hee retourned in the morning, and ioyned himselfe with

With his enimyes, who as soone as it was daye, would haue ranne theyr waye, and as they beganne to make sayle, he entered vpon them in the Baye, shooting of his Ordinaunce, with the which hee strake the saide Shippe, and by this meanes they yeldeoed, with this those of Cananor that were standing at the water side, were verie soe agreed and would haue come to succour them, who after that Edwarto Pacheco beganne to dispend his Ordinaunce amongst them, ranne lykelike theyr wayes.

The  
Moorees  
yeldeoed  
vnto our  
men.

This being done, hee went towarde Calycut, to the which harbour hee arriued the next daye, where the King came to the water side to see the Shippe, so that they toke the same for a miracle, and gaue our men great praises. The Captaine Generall commaunded the Shippe to be deliuered vnto the king with seauen Elephaunts that were within the saue, which were worth in Calycut thirtie thousand crownes, ouer and besides this, there was found in it great store of merchaundise, besides those men whom hee tooke captiues. Also hee sent the king word that hee needed not to meruaile that so small a Caruell as that was could take such a great Shippe, so that in matters of greater waight he would be at his commaundement, so the which hee sent him great thanks, and praised him to send vnto him those men that had done so notable an act, whom he did receiue very well, and with great honour, and gaue them great gifts, in especiall to Edwarto Pacheco.

Some affirme that after that the king had seene this famous act that our men had done being so few, he had them from thence forth in some feare, & was desirous to see them dispatched out of his countrie, & therefore did consent vnto that treason, of the which I will speake of hereafter.

Of the Oration which the Moorees made to the king, concerning the enterteyning of our men, and what aunswere there was made, & also pollicie vsed against them, Chap. 25.

With



## The Conquest



With the taking of this ship the Moors of Calicut were greatly afrighted in minde, and soze offended with y<sup>e</sup> king for that he made so great account of our men, which as they thought was done to reuenge their iniuries, and for the hatred or enuye they had conceiued against vs, though in dede the king made more account of our men then he did of them. By this meanes as they thought, it was no other but to prouoke them to leaue his Countrie, in especiall for as much as our men brought them such great stoze of Merchandise, and as much as they did, and brought as great stoze of spices as they did: Wherefore they determined to make vnto the king an Oration concerning the same matter. And being ioyned together spake in the name of them all, one on this sort.

The  
Moors  
Oration  
against  
our men.

**E**Mparather of all the Malabars, nothing lesse mightie then the mightiest king of the Indias, & most fearefull amongst those that are feared of all the Princes of the same. We cannot but mernaile much that thou hauing these two qualyties, wouldest imbase thy selfe to receiue into thy Countrie these y<sup>e</sup> are enimyes to thy law, & straungers to the customes of thy kingdome, & last of al, doe rather appeare to be rouers then merchants. If thou doest receiue them for want of such as shoulde bring vnto the Citie those kindes of merchaundise that they do bring, or else carrie away those kinde of Spices that they are desirous of, we would then allowe thereof. But there are too many that doth the same, and mon that thou hast knowne of a long time, and by the long continuance of them art acquainted with their fidelitie, which haue encreased so much thy rents, that therof we are a good witnesse. But thou hauing forgotten all this, wouldest receiue those whom thou diddest not knowe, and doest fauour them so much, that amongst so many, and such a multitude of good subiectes as thou hast, wouldest make choice of them, that they shoulde reuenge thy iniuries, as though thine owne subiectes were not sufficient men to doe the same. By which dede thou doest

doest abase thy power so much, that we for very shame, & for that we are bound of duetie to bring it into thy memorie. For if so be y thou well consider what it is to make the reuengers of thy iniuries, & giue them in respect thereof so great honour, it is as it were to shewe them plainly a certaine kinde of weaknesse which indeed is not in thy subjects, but rather doest bolden them to make small account of thee, & so after ward to do that which we doe well know they will do, which is to rob from all merchants that cometh towards thy ports, to destroy thy country, & at length to take the Citie, which is the end of their comming into these parts, & not to looke for spices, and this is most true, that from their countrie unto this is almost fve thousand leagues by sea, with returnes and stoames that the same voyage hath, ouer and besides the great danger of the voyage, & the charges of the making of their great shippes, and furnishing the same with ordnance, besides the strengthening of them with men, much more all this being wel noted, it is plaine that for all their greates gaines which they might haue by their spices in Portingale, their losses would be greater, in comming so far for them, which is a manifest proue that they are rather pirates then merchants, which come into the country to rob and take the cite, as they will do, if so be they do place themselves once within the same. And when they shal possesse the same house which thou diddest giue them for a factorie, they will make there a fort, from whence they will make thee wars, when thou shalt thinke least of it, which thing will come to passe, and now the rather, since that thou doest commaunde the same to be made by thy subiectes. But this as we saie we doe bring to thy memorie more for the good will which we doe owe to thee, then for any profit we doe looke for. And if it fortune that thou wilt not remember vs, there are other cities in Malabar where we maye make our habitation, whether for our sakes will be brought all stoze of spices.ouer and besides all this, the loyaltie which we doe owe vnto thee doth make vs to feare more the losse of thy estate,

Proues  
that vce  
were ra-  
ther pirats  
then mer-  
chants.

Z.

then



# The Conquest

why he re-  
quested  
our men  
to take  
the ship  
of Meca.

then to care for our owne profit.  
As soon as the Moore had made an end of his Oration,  
the king did gratifie them all very much, and tolde them  
that he would haue a speciall care of all that which they  
had remembred him of, and how in the selfe same sorte he  
supposed y<sup>e</sup> matter indeed wold come to passe. The occasion  
that the king took to request the Generall to send to take  
that ship, was to see the experience of their valiant minds,  
& also why he did consent to y<sup>e</sup> lading of their ships, was to  
the end there might remaine in the countrie their monye  
which they brought to buye merchaundise withall, accor-  
ding as he did to such merchants as come into his port.  
And at the last he did promise that he would not forsake  
them for any Traungler. Yet for all this, the Moores did not  
remaine fully satisfied, because the king did not command  
us to depart out of the citie of Calycut, and not suffer our  
men to trade ther any longer, for that was the principallest  
thing that they did pretende. Howbeit they would not  
let but entermiddle in all our matters, especiall in the buy-  
ing of our Spices, which they did openly buye, and sent  
them secretly vnto other places. This was done with a  
determinatio, for y<sup>e</sup> they could not alway with our men, but  
wold resist them, our men being thus resisted might then  
haue occasion the better to defend themselves, & so by this  
meanes they would reuenge their quarrels openly by fight-  
ing with our men. This they had great desire to do, think-  
ing to destroy our men openly, for that they were manye  
more in number then ours were, they hoped that when this  
matter was once begun, that then the king wold take their  
parts. Also they wrought by all meanes possible to haue  
the comunion sorte of people on their side, inciting  
them against our men, with matters which  
they made them belue that our  
men had done against  
them.

How

How the Moores that dwelled in Calycut by meanes  
of the Factor & countenance they had at the kings  
hand, did set vpon the Factor, where was slaine  
in defence there of the Factor with other of his  
company. Cap. 36.



**B**y meanes of this subtil dealing of the  
Moores, there past three moneths before the  
Factor could get any spices more then he  
had, to lade two ships withall: which was  
a great grieue to the Captaine Generall,  
forasmuch as thereby he perceiued verie  
well that the friendship of the king was not steadfast, but  
that he was a liar, and a man that vsed no truth at all.  
And if so be that he had not tarried there so long time as  
he did, fearing that in no other porte he should finde suffi-  
cient lading for his shippes, he would haue fallen out with  
him, and so haue gone to some other place. But forasmuch  
as he hadde bene there at so greate charges, he dissimuled  
therewith onely to see whether with his good will he might  
lade there or no. The Captaine Generall seeing that all  
thinges were but delayes, sent vnto the king, requesting  
him to remember those promises he hadde made vnto  
the Factor, that within twentye dayes he would de-  
liuer sufficient lading for the whole flecte, and that now  
there were three moneths past, and yet there was no more  
laden then two shippes. The occasion whereof he did not  
knowe, and therefore he was the willinger to suffer the  
same, and that with great patience, hoping alwayes that he  
would giue order for the lading of the rest of the flect. But  
now he sawe howe all things went, and knew that it was  
impossible to make an ende thereof.

For although he had promised that his flecte should be  
the first that should be laden before any other straungers,

The king  
accused  
plainly of  
doublenes.



## The Conquest

and that he was enformed for most certeine, y the Moors had bought for a lesse price great store of Spices, and sent the same to other places, whether they would, he therefore requested him yet to haue him in his remembrance, y now it was time for him to depart towards Portingale, desiring him to dispatch him as he hadde promised. The king as soone as he had heard what the messenger sayd, did thewe as in an outward appearance greatly meruailing that our ships remained yet vnladen, and answered that hee was very sorry therefore, and that he could not beleue that the Moors contrarie to his commandement had bought spices vnder a colour, and sent the same a boorde some other way whether it pleased them, he hauing giuen commandement to the contrarie, namely, that the Moors should not haue any spices in hugger nigger. Affirming that if it bee so they had deceiued him, he would punish them therefore. Upon this immediately he gaue commandement to take those shippes that were laden with spices, with condition that they should pay for the same the price that the Moors had bought at. The newes was brought forth with vnto the Moors, and as there was nothing more acceptable vnto them, then to haue occasion to fall out with our men, so therefore did one of the principall Moors beginne to lade his shippe first, and that openly with all sortes of spices and Drugges. And for that cholar might the more increase in our men, to take those spices, hee found meanes that certeine Moors which the Factor toke to be his very friends, and also certeine Gentiles, should make him beleue that if so be that hee did not send to take that ship, that was a lading, that then he could not haue lading sufficient for the flate.

The Factor gaue credit vnto this report, and thereupon sent worde to the Captaine Generall, what the Moors and Gentiles had tolde him, and that he thought their saying to be true. And therefore since the king of Calicut had giuen him license to take all such spices as the Moors had laden, hee might the better now take that shippe.

Nothing more acceptable to the Moors then to quarrell & fall out with our men,

How

Whobest the Captaine general was loath to deale therewith  
 for all the kings license, for he knew him to be an incon-  
 stant man, and waying also the great credit, that the Moors  
 were in with him, he was afraid least that after they had  
 taken the said shippe, the Moors through the kings fauour  
 would rise against them. And this was the aim were that  
 was sent to the Factor: yet for all that he did require him  
 once more to take that ship, saying, that if he did not, that  
 then the king shuld be in hazarde to lose such Merchandize  
 as he had ther: neuerthelesse the Captaine general wold not  
 meddle therewith, and yelding for that his determination  
 sufficient reason to the contrary. But the Factor on y other  
 part ceased not to make vnto him sundry requests, and pro-  
 fessions, that he should paye all such losses and damages,  
 as should hap vpon the king of Portugales Merchandize,  
 by his defaults, for that he woulde not deale with the sayde  
 ship. Whus since he saw there was no other remedie, he con-  
 sented therewith, although it were against his will: & there-  
 fore the xvi. day of December, the Captaine generall sent  
 word to those that were aboard y ship, that was thus laden  
 by the Moors, by the order which was sent him from the  
 king of Calicut, to commaund them to depart, and for as  
 much as they made but little reckoning thereof he sent the  
 next daye all his boates to bring hir within the harbour.  
 After that this report came to the owner of the ships know-  
 ledge, they made the Moors priue heereof, whereof they  
 were very glad, for that by this meanes there was offered  
 vnto them occasion to fall out with our men. Wherevpon,  
 they began in a furious outrage, running out of their doores  
 like madde men, complaining vpon vs and our people, by  
 meanes whereof, they were tumultuously moued, and fra-  
 med great outcries and larums, and alwayes against our  
 men. And after that they had thus done, they ranne to the  
 king, with whom went the owner of the ship, complaining  
 also vpon our men for the detaining of his ship, saying that  
 our men had bought and laden much more spices & drings,  
 then that the Merchandize came vnto which they hadde

The  
 Moores  
 moued a  
 tumult a-  
 gainst our  
 men.



## The conquest

The sa-  
uage fierce-  
nes of the  
Moors a-  
gainst our  
men.

brought with them, howbeit their pride was such, that they were content with nothing; but as Thieves and Pirates would have all. At this instant came the Moors, which did before helpe him very much, declaring many things against our menage how much the King was in fault, for suffering them within this Citie, requesting him most earnestly to give them license to redrege their losse, which they had received. The King as he was inconstant and without any fidelitie, did graunt them the same. As soone as the Moors had obtained their request, they came their waye from the King, and toke their weapons, and with a savage fiercenes, lyke wilde beasts, ranne into the Citie in flockes towarde the Factorie, which was compassed about like a Castle, with the wall of the height of a man on horsebacke, in the which were lxx. Portugales amongst whom was Fryer Henrick with his company of Friers. Ther wer amongst our men no more weapons then 8. Crossebowes, all y rest had nothing but swords & clokes, as soone as they knew of y enemies coming, they ran to the gates of the Factorie, & when y they saw they were so few, they iudged them to be some quarellers that came thether for the same purpose, & therefore wer minded to defend their gates, with their cloakes & rapiers only; but afterward their power increased so much vpon our men, that by reason of their arrowes and speares, they could not indure ther any longer: then y Factor commanded their gates to be shut vp, supposing that from the wal they wold drive their enemies from thence, & at the very shutting, vpon of the gates, there were seven of the enemies slaine, y which gates could not be shut without great danger: alwayes fighting valiantly. In this conflict, ther was of our men nyne hurt, & foure slaine: howbeit as well those y wer hurt as those y wer in health, went vp vpon y wal of y Factorie, for to defend their enemies from thence with their crossebowes, Howbeit the multitude of them at that present was so great that they made shewe as if they had bene in number foure thousande. There came also to aide them sundrye Nayres, which all of them together, began to set vpon those that wer

In the Factorie, hoping thereby to enter. Aries Correa seeing it was impossible for him to defend it any longer without some aide from the ships, and for to giue them to vnderstand of their troubles, there was displaide a flagge in the top of the Factorie: and as soon as the same was discovered by the Captaine generall, he suspected it in himselfe to be that which indeede it was, for the which sodaine chance he was very sorrowfull, for that as then he was but newly let blood, and sicke in his bed, and therefore he could not go himselfe to succour them: howbeit he sent sancho de Toar, to supply his roome, with all the flectes boats, which went with such men as they had, but to resist such a number as there was of their enemies, they were very few, which Sancho de Toar perceiuing, durst not disembark himselfe, neither yet come too neere the shore least that the enemies should come in their Almadias and Tonys, and so take them, also that they could not hurt them; they laye so farre off from the shore: but they from thence could discerne how valyant our men did defende themselves and there entring, although the number of their enemies did alwayes increas, for so it was needful for y great slaughter, y our men made of the front ouer y wall. notwithstanding by meanes thereof their fury did so increas, y they caused to be brought certain engines to ouerthrow part of y wall wall, which were so great, that our men could not by any meanes defend the same, being so few and so many hurt, with the enemies arrows and speares, which came from them as thicke, as though it had rained arrowes. But perceiuing once the enemy began to enter, they would not tarrie there any longer, but went forth of the Factorie, by a doore that opened toward the water side, where they made reckoning to saue themselves with their boats. But y enemies followed them alwaies so narrowly, hurting and killing them, that in this conflict Aries Correa was slaine, so that there were lacking fiftie of our men, betwene those that were dead and taken captiues, twentie onely escaped, which took the water, but those were soze hurt, amongst whom was a Fryer called Fryer

Succour  
sent by y  
Generall  
Captaine  
to the  
Factorie.

The King  
of Portugal  
sent  
a gallant  
ship



## The conquest

Fryer Henricke, and a son of the said Aries Correa, which was but eleuen yeares of age, who is yet aliuie and is called Antonio Correa, and since that time hath done in the Indias, and in other places notable acts of Armes, as in the fourth booke I shall declare. Those that did escape, wer taken into our boates, and carried to the flete.

How the Captaine generall slewe the most parte of those Moores that were aboorde the ten great ships, and then commanded them to be set a fire, & also of the great destruction which he brought vpon the citie in reuenge of the death of those that were slaine therein. Cap. 37.



After that these newes were brought to the Captaine generall, he was not onely very sorrowfull for the death of those that were slaine, but also to see how little preuailed the present which he gaue vnto the King of Calicut, as also the taking of the ship, in the which was the Elephant, & now three moneths were past that he had bene there, and yet had laden no more then two ships, nor yet could tell when to lade the rest, fearing also least in Coching he shoulde not be well accepted, for taking of the ship in the which was the Elephant. And further waiping with himselfe, how little or none occasion at all there was giuen to vse such treason against our men, he did therefore determine to reuenge himselfe vpon the King of Calicut, if so be that he did not vse some excuse for that which was past, wherevnto if he woulde willingly yeelde, then would he be content, so that he might ther haue his lading. But the King of Calicut was farre off from the matter, for he was very glad of that which the Moores had done, and commaunded all such Merchandize to be taken, as were within the Factorie, the which wer well worth foure thou-

The king  
of Calicut  
was farre  
off from  
making a  
mendes,

thousand duckets, & also take all such of ours as were found  
 alive for captives, although they were hurt, of the which  
 there were foure that died. After all this, the Captaine gene-  
 rall seeing that in all that daye the King of Calicut sent no  
 messenger to excuse himselfe of the fact, he put the matter  
 in question, whereas it was determined that he forthwith  
 should reuenge those iniuries that were past, for feare least  
 if he should delay so to doe, that then the King might haue  
 time to arme his flæte, which would not then be so easely  
 done. This being determined, our men put themselves in a  
 readinesse, to lay aboard r. great ships, which lay in y<sup>e</sup> harbor  
 full of Moyses: these at the first would haue defended them-  
 selues, yet for all y<sup>e</sup> our men did ioyne with them, & fought  
 with them so valyantly, that they brake their order, killing  
 many of them, and of those that remained some leaped into  
 the water and were drowned, others hid themselves in their  
 ships, and other were taken alive, whom the Captaine ge-  
 nerall commaunded to prison, that they might afterwarde  
 serue for Mariners in the flæte. The ships being thus come  
 into our mens possession, they found within the same some  
 Spices and other Merchandize which were hidden within  
 them: also they found thre Elephants, which the Captaine  
 generall commaunded to be killed and salted for their victu-  
 als, he commaunded also those Moyses that were slaine to  
 be told, and there was found of them 600. The ships being  
 discharged of all that they had, they wer set a fire before all  
 the Citie, in the sight of many that came to the water side  
 to succor them, whom being Moyses, as they were coming  
 in their Almadias, our men encountered and fought with  
 them, but they durst not goe so ward for feare of the ordi-  
 nance. This was a wonder to those of the Citie, to see ten  
 ships burnt together. The King also was soze therefore for  
 that he could not send to succour them. But if that which  
 was done this day was a wonder to the enemies to behold,  
 then y<sup>e</sup> next day was much moze to be meruailed at, for the  
 Captaine generall not being contented with the burning of  
 these ships commaunded his ships in the night to be brought

Just re-  
 uenge  
 vvrought  
 vpon the  
 inurious  
 Calcutias



## The Conquest

as nere the shore as he could, the one somewhat separated from the other. They had also their boats before them, that they might reach the most part of the Citie. As sone as the morning began to appeare, immediately all the great Ordnance went off amongst their houses, which after that the enimies had sene, and how nere our ships lay to the shore, they began to shote at the with smal peeces which they had without hurting any of our men, howbeit of our ordinance, for that the enimies came running in flockes, there was no pece that mist, and by that meanes there were manye that fell, and the others that dzeu towards the Citie, where our ordinance also had made a great destruction, as well in the Temples of their Gods, as in their dwelling houses. The feare was so great amongst the Citizens, that the King of Calycut himselfe was driven to leaue his Pallace, and to goe out of the Citie, for that our men went thether to seeke him out with their pellets, so that hard at his heeles they killed a Naire, which was a noble man, and ouerthelwe part of the Kings Pallace. This destruction dured no more but this daye: and whilest it was a doing, there appeared two ships y<sup>e</sup> wer comming to the harbor, which as sone as they had discried vs, went their way, & therefore this fight ceased. The Captaine generall made after the in al his fleet to Pandarane, which is a Port not far off, where there was other seven nere to the land ready to succour them, in which there came a multitude of shippes to defend them, and for that our ships could not come nere vnto the shore, they lefte them. And the Captaine generall contenting himselfe with that which he had done in Calycut, for that it was verie late to make his voyage toward Portugall, went toward Coching, & ther concluded a peate, to see whether he might lade ther, for y<sup>e</sup> he well knew it, that ther was more Pepper then in Calicut.

¶ How the Captaine generall arriued at the harbour adioyning to the citie of Coching, & ther he concluded a peace betweene him & the King, & afterward began to lade his ships. Cap. 37.

Going

The feare that the King of Calicut and the citizens were in.



Coming vnder saile along by this citie, y Cap-  
taine generall tooke two ships of y Mozes,  
which after that they had discried our ships,  
bare as nere the shore as they coude, for  
seare of our ships, but our men tooke them  
and when they were discharged of certayne  
Rice which they carried, the Generall caused them to be set  
a fire, and so following his course he arined at Coching the  
xx. of December, which standeth in the Prouince of Mala-  
bar, xix. leagues from that parte of Calycut, going into the  
South, and being in ix. degrees toward the North. The sit-  
uation therof is along the river, in the which the Sea doth  
enter, by meanes whereof the Citie standeth as it  
were in an Ilande and that verie strong, for that there  
is no comming to it, but by certaine wayes. It hath belon-  
ging vnto it, a goodly great and a sure Port, which lyeth be-  
foze the mouth of this river. The land round about is wa-  
try and low, and made into Ilands: they haue smal store of  
victuals, but for all that those which they haue is verie fresh.  
This Citie is buylded much after the manner of Calycut,  
and is inhabited by Gentiles and sundry Mozes strangers,  
which are come thether from manye places, and are great  
Merchaunts, amongst whom there are two that haue fiftie  
shippes a pece.

Coching  
standeth  
in 9. de-  
grees, and  
the situ-  
atio ther-  
of.

In this Countrey is great store of Pepper, and the most  
parte that they haue in Calycut commeth from thence.  
But forasmuch as in Calycut there are more store of Mer-  
chaunts which come from other places, therefore the same  
is richer then coching. The King is a Gentile, and is  
of the behauiour and propertie of the King of Calycut:  
howbeit he is verie poore, by reason his Countrey is but  
small, neither can he commaund any money to be coined in  
his Citie.

The Kings of Coching are in great subiection to the  
Kings of Calicut, for as often as ther chanceth a new king to



## The Conquest

succede in Calicut, he immediately goeth to Coching, and dispossesseth him that hath the same, of the whole kingdome and taketh possession himselfe therof, so that by this meanes it lyeth in his hands, whether he will restore that King to the crowne againe or not. Also the King of Coching is bound to aide and accompany the King of Calicut in battaile against any other King, also he is bounde to dye in the religion of the King of Calicut. The Captaine generall, being come to this harbour, did there let fall his Anko, for that he was afearde to send Gaspar with a message to the King, least he would runne awaye, he choised rather to send one whose name was Michael Iogue, which although he were a Gentile & a straunger, yet he came vnto our Flæse, with intent to turne Christian, saying that he would goe for Portingale: whereupon the Captaine generall tooke occasion to baptize him, and gaue him the name of Michael, & for his surname as he was called before. By this man he sent to the King of Coching his message, certifieng him of all that they had past in Calicut, & also that the Captaine generall had brought w<sup>th</sup> him great store of Merchandize to giue in trucke for such commodities as there were in Coching, with the which if so be that the King wer not contented, that then he would buy the same for ready money, wherof he had brought with him great store, and therefore his request was that in trucke of his merchandize, or for his ready money he would giue him lading for foure ships. The answer that the king made to this messenger, was, That he was very glad of his comming to this his Port, for that he was wel informed of his strength and valiantnesse, and therefore he esteemed them all the better, as hereafter he should well perceiue. And as for such Spices as he had there, he would giue him the same in trucke of his Merchandize if he had brought with him from Portingale, or els for money as he should thinke best. And also that without any feare he might send a land whom he should thinke good to prouide the said lading, & for the assurance of such as shuld trauele about the same he sent him 2, of the principal Naires in pledge, vpon condition that every day he shuld chaunge

A Moore  
baptised  
& called  
Michael.

chaunge them and take others, for that all such as did keepe  
a sea boorde, could not come anye more in the kings pre-  
sence. The Captaine Generall was well contented there-  
with, who had the sending of those pledges so quietly a-  
boord, for a good beginning, and therefore he sent immediatly  
for Factor of this lading Gonfallo Gilbarbosa, which  
was sent befoze with Arics Correa, and for his Scriuenor  
he sent Larenco Moreno, and for Interpreter one cal-  
led Maderade Alculia. Also the Captaine Generall com-  
maunded to be deliuered vnto them and to serue them in  
all kinde of affaires, foure banished men.

The king hauing notice of the comming of the Factor  
a land, sent to receiue him the Rogedor of the Citie, who  
went accompanied with many noble men of the Courte,  
who brought them befoze the king. This king euen as his  
rents did farre differ in value from the king of Calycut,  
so he did also differ very much in his estate, not onely for  
furniture of his person, but also of the place in the which  
he was in. For there appeared nothing else but the verry  
bare walls. The king himselte was sitting within certeine  
grates, made much lyke a Theatre, with the which the  
whole house was compassed aboute, and there was  
attending vppon him verie few men. The Factor beeing  
come befoze the king, did present vnto him a present which  
the Captaine Generall sent him, which was a Basen of  
silver to wash his hands in, full of Saffron, and a greate  
Cwer of silver full of rose water, besides certeine braun-  
ches of Corall, this present the king receiued very ioyful-  
fully, giuing vnto the Captaine Generall great thanks for  
the same, and after that he had talked a while with the fac-  
tor, and with Larenco Moreno, he commaunded them to  
be lodged, and so there remained those thre a land, besides  
the other foure banished men. But the Captaine Generall  
would not consent there should remaine a land anye more,  
for he iudged that the fewer ther remained a land, the few-  
er would be lost if so be that there should chaunce the lyke  
misfortune to that which did in Calycut. Howbeit that was

The king  
of Coch-  
ing much  
inferior in  
wealt &  
state to  
king of  
Calycut.



## The Conquest

farre unlike, for y<sup>e</sup> the king of Coching seemed to be a man inclined to vertue & all the loialtie in the world, which wel appeared in his fauour, & in the vsing of our men, & in the dispatch he made for the lading of our ships with spices, & in the commanding of helpe to be giuen by those of y<sup>e</sup> countrie, which they did so willingly and with so great a zeale, that the same seemed to be ordeined of God, that the trade might be brought from Calycut to Coching, & that his holy Catholike faith might increase in the Indias, as y<sup>e</sup> same did, besides the estate of y<sup>e</sup> king of Portingale, which might increase also in riches as the same hath done.

Howe the Captaine General being at Coching, ther came vnto him a Priest which yvas an Indian and a christian, from the citie of Grangalor, to go vyith him to Portingale, and also yvhat els he tolde him of the christians of this citie. Chap. 39

**T**he Captaine General being in this citie & laden, there came vnto him two Indians which as they said were christians, & naturally bozne in y<sup>e</sup> citie of Grangalor, which is hard by Coching, these were brothers, & were desirous to go to Portingale, & fro thence to Rome to see the Pope, & after ward to Ierusalem to visit y<sup>e</sup> holy sepulchre. And being demanded by y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general what city y<sup>e</sup> Grangalor was, & whether the same was only inhabited by christians, & also whether they do esteeme y<sup>e</sup> christia<sup>n</sup> order of y<sup>e</sup> Greeks, or of y<sup>e</sup> church of Rome: one of the made answer, y<sup>e</sup> Grangalor was a gret city in y<sup>e</sup> province of Malabar, standing w<sup>i</sup>n y<sup>e</sup> cou<sup>n</sup>try at y<sup>e</sup> end of a riuer which copasseth y<sup>e</sup> same, by some parts y<sup>e</sup> inhabitats therof, saith he, are both Gentiles & christians, also ther dwel amongst the many Jewes which are snallly estemed of, ther are also many strangers amongst the, which are merchants of Surria, of Aegipt, of Persia, & Arabia, by reason of y<sup>e</sup> great stoe of pepper which is there gathered, this citie hath a king amongst theselues, vnto who al such christians as dwel w<sup>i</sup>n this citie do pay certein tribute, & these dwel by theselues, where they haue their church made after our order, sauing they haue not in the any Images of saints, but only certein crosses: they do not vse bels, but when y<sup>e</sup> priests would haue them

The description & state of Grangalor.

thē come to diuine seruice, thē they do obserue y order of y  
Greeks. The christiāns haue their Popes which haue 12. car-  
dinals, & two patriarks, & many Bishops & Archbishops, all  
which do reside in Armenia, for thether go y bishops of Gra-  
galor to receiue their dignity, he himself had ben ther w a  
bishop which y pope did consecrate, & he himself receiued at  
his hands, orders of priesthood, & euen so he is accustomed to  
do vnto al others y are christians in y Indias, & in Caitaio  
& also he is called catholike, & their Tonsura is made w a  
crosse. Of those two patriarks which they haue, y one re-  
maineth in y Indias, & y other in Caitaio, & as for y bishops  
they are reposed in cities, as is thought cōuenient. The cause  
why they haue a pope in those parts hath ben as is thought  
by thē, for y in S. Peters time he being in Antioch, ther a-  
rose a great scisme of Simon Magus, which was y occasiō  
y he was called to Rome to ouerthrow y same, & to help y  
christians which wer in great trouble: and seeing y he must  
depart frō Antioch, & for y the church of y orient shuld not  
remaine wout a shepheard, he appointed a vicar to gouern,  
who, S. Peter being dead, shuld remaine for pope, & those y  
succeeded him shuld alwaies assist him in Armenia, but af-  
ter y Popes entred into Suria & Asia, & for y Armenia re-  
mained alwaies in the christian faith: the Christians did  
therfore chuse to gouerne it by 12. cardinals. Marco Paulo  
doth also make mentiō of this catholike pope, wher he writ-  
teth of this Armenia, in which he declareth there are two  
orders of Christians: the one of those are Nestorians, the  
other Iacobites, their pope is also named Iacobite, & is he  
whō they cal y catholike Ioseph. Moreouer he told y Cap-  
taine general y in Grangalor are priests whose crowns are  
not shauen as ours are, but onely in y midd of their heads  
they leaue certein haire, al y rest is shauen, & also they haue  
deacons & subdeacons. They consecrate w leuened bread &  
with wine made of raisons, for they haue no other in y coun-  
try. Their childrē are not baptised vntil xl. daies after their  
birth, without they be sickly. Those y are christians do cō-  
fesse thēselues as we do, they receiue y sacrament & bury y  
dead as we doe.

Why the  
christians  
of y Indi-  
as hath a  
Pope.

The man-  
ner of sha-  
uing their  
priests dif-  
fering frō  
ours.

They



## The Conquest

They doe not ble the holy Dyle, but in stæde of the same they doe blesse them, & when that any die, they gather many of themselves together, and for the space of viii. daies, they doe eate abundantly, and afterward they celebrazte the obsequies of the dead. They make their testament before they dy, & those y do not so, the next heire shal inherit their lands and goods, & if so be that the husband die first, the wife shal haue her dowrie, on condition that she shall not marrie in one whole yeare after, when that they enter in their churches, they take holy water. Their opinion is that there are foure Euangelists, whose writings they haue in great veneration. They fast the Lent and the Aduent with greate solemnitie, and take regard not to breake the same, during this time they doe exercise themselves in prayer, & on Easter euen they neither doe eate noz drinke any thing till the next day. They doe ble to heare Sermons on holy Friday at night, they obserue the day of the resurrection with great solemnitie, with the two other daies following, and also the Sunday next following, for that Saint Thomas on that day did put his hands into Christs side, they do keepe it with great solemnitie, acknowledging thereby that the same was no fantasie, or dreame. Also they keepe holy with great deuotion the Ascention day & Trinitie Sunday, & the Assumption of our lady, hir birth, & Candlemas day, & Christmas day, & all the Apostles & Sundaies, as wel the Christians as y Gentiles. And they with great deuotion keepe y first day of July in the honour of S. Thomas, they could yeelde no reason or cause why they doe obserue that daie. They haue Fryers of Negroes which doe liue very chastly. Also there are Nunnes of the same order. Their Priests doe liue verie chastly, for if so be that they doe not so, they are deprived from celebrazting. There can be no separating of the man and woman, but well or ill they must liue together till death doe separate them. They receiue the Sacrament thre times in the yeare, they haue amongst them greate Doctoures, and open schooles, in the which are read the Prophets: and also there were in times past olde auncient doct.

Negro friers professing chastitie

doctors, which haue left the Scriptures of the olde & newe Testament well expounded or interpreted. Their apparell is after the order of y<sup>e</sup> Mozes. They haue their day which they do call Intercalor, which is of 40. houres. They know how the day passeth away by the Sun, & the night by the stars, for they haue no clocks. The Captaine generall was very glad of the companie of this Ioseph & his brother to carry them to Portingale, for whom he commanded a good cabine should be giuen them in his ship.

Of the great Fleet of ships that was sent out of Calicut to fight with the Captaine Generall, and what was the cause that ours did not fight with them. And also of his departure from Coching toward Portingale, and how in his way he was driuen to Cananor.

Chap. 40.



The Captaine Generall being in this harbour, ther came vnto him a messenger fro the king of Cananor, & also from the king of Coulan (they both being great princes) in y<sup>e</sup> kingdome of Malabar, requesting him to come to their ports or harbours, for y<sup>e</sup> they would giue him sufficient lading for his ships, better cheape then in Coching, with verie many other offers of friendship. To whom he made answere by a messenger that he sent, yelding vnto them most hearty thanks, certifieng them y<sup>e</sup> at this present he could not go to lade at their ports, for that he had begun to take in the same already at Coching, notwithstanding at his next resourne he wold do so, immediatly after y<sup>e</sup> he had laden his ships, there was seene a sea word a flete of 25. great ships, besides other small vessels. And y<sup>e</sup> king of Coching hauing notice therof, sent word forthwith to the Captaine Generall, y<sup>e</sup> there was in that fleet xv. thousand fighting men which came onely to none other purpose, but to seeke him out, and therefore if so bee

A greate  
Fleete of  
enimies.

Abb.

that



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that he should haue any need of men, to send him word, & he would prouide him therof. The Captaine Generall answered, that as yet he had no such neede, for that with those few that hee had with him, he trusted in God, to giue them to vnderstand, what ill counsell they had taken, to come & seeke him out, for that hee had well experimented theyr strength. Truth it was the Generall beloued steadfastlye as hee hadde spoken, in respect of that which hee before had past in the harbour or porte of Calycut. First with ten great shippes which hee founde there, as also with certeine that were there a grounde. And although the enimyes were scouring vp and downe in the Sea, yet therby it was apparaunt that they durst not come to the place where hee was, by a league, for all that they shewed themselves to be set in order to fight. The Captaine Generall perceiuing theyr intent, caused to wey Anko, and hauing his Sailes spread abroade, departed with all his Flæte towarde his enimyes, in the which there went those Pleadges Malabars, which the King of Coching hadde giuen vnto him. Howbeit his determination was, to retourne againe to Coching, and so to deliuer them. And going after this sorte, there fell vppon them on a sodayne such a greate storme which came with a contrarype winde, that hee was faine to retourne and to come to an Anko againe, so that hee coulde not beare with his enimyes.

The next daye following which was the tenth daye of Januarpe. 1501. the winde came about in such sorte and so large, that the one Flæte might laye the other a boorde. The Captaine Generall being desirous thereof, founde vppon a sodaine missing one of his greate Shippes, in the which went Sancho de Tear, vnto whome it did well appeare, by reason it was night, that he had forgotten himselfe. And for because that next vnto this shippe, this was the principallest of all the Flæte, in the which were placed the chieffest men, it was not thought good to fight without him, the rather for that in  
the

the others he hadde but selwe men, and of them the most parte were sicke, and of the enymyes were so manye as the king of Coching had sent him worde.

And as the winde was prosperous to goe forwarde on his voyage towarde Portingale, and verie scant to retourne towarde Coching, he departed, making his course into the Sea with his whole Flæte. After whome the whole Flæte of the enimies followed, all that daye till it was night, and then they lost theyr companye, and so returned. Thus going in his course, he beganne to comfort those Nayres which were deliuered vnto him for Pleadges, with manye pleasaunt tales, the which was the cause that they fell to theyr meate, being three dayes there, & had eaten nothing of fūe daies of theyr sailing, and vpon the xv. of Januarie, he came within sight of Cananor, which lyeth flat north from Coching, and is in the coast of Malabar, xxxi. leagues from Coching.

Cananor is a greate citie, consisting of houses made of Earth, and couered ouer with broade stone or slate, there are in this Citie many Houses that are great merchants, which trade in all kinde of merchaundise. There is ad- loynning vnto this Citie a goodly Baire, but there is in this Coast no great store of Pepper, no more then doth serue their owne turnes. Wholbeit they haue greate store of Cin- ger, Cardamomon, Tamarindos, Mirabolanos, Canyfisto- la, and such lyke. There belong vnto this Citie certeine pōles of water, wherin there do breed Lagartos, the which are lyke vnto the Crocodiles that are in the riuier of Ni- lo, which are so great that they doe eate men, if so be that they maye come by them. Their heads are great, and they haue two orders of teeth, their bzeath is as swæt as muske, and their bodies are couered ouer with shels. Also about this citie there are in bushes great adders, which are very full of poison, so that with their bzeath onely they do kill men: also there are Wats so great as kites, which in their heads doe seeme much like vnto a ffore, hauing such manner of teeth also.

Hemak-  
eth to-  
vvard Por-  
tingale.

The di-  
scription  
of the  
towne of  
Cananor.

Drugs for  
the Pothe-  
caries.



## The Conquest

These the Gentiles doe feede vpon, for that they are pleasant and swete. They haue mozeouer in this Citie plentie both of fish, flesh, & fruits, & as for rice y<sup>e</sup> commeth vnto the from other places. The king is a Gentile, and a Bramene, hee is counted to be one of the thre of the prouince of Malabar, but he is not so rich nor of so great a power as is the king of Calycut, nor yet as the king of Coulan. Vnto this harbour arriued the Captaine General, and came to an ankoy, (not onely for that the king had requested him so to doe) but also for that he minded to take in there some Cinnamon, whereof hee had none yet a boorde, so that there hee tooke in 400. Quintalls, and might haue had much moze, but he would not take it, wherefore it was thought that he wanted money: wherebpon the king tooke occasion to send him word, that if so be the lacke of money were the cause that he tooke no moze thereof, or any other spices, hee was then much to blame, for that hee would trust him with much moze if neede so required, vntill hee returned backe againe, hee or any other. Hee was the willinger to send him this offer, for that he knewe the true dealing of the Portingales, and howe well they mainteined theyr promise: and for that hee did beare vs so greate good will, the Captaine Generall made him aunswere, giuing him greate good thanks for the lyberall offers hee hadde made him: promising that if hee liued, hee would enforme the king his maister of the greate good will that hee doth beare him. And once this, hee maye be assured to haue him alwayes for his friende. After this was deliuered vnto him an Embassadour, whome the king of Cananor sent to the king of Portingale to increase a further friendship betwene them.

Euery  
quintall  
is 100.  
vveight.

What

What had chaunced to the Captaine generall vn-  
till such time that hee arriued at Monsanbique,  
and from thence to Lisbonne, and how Sancho  
de Toar, did discover the Ilande of Sofala,  
Chap. 41.



In the middes of that goulfe, and on the last  
day of January, he toke a great ship, rich-  
ly laden with Merchandise, and perceiuing  
that it belonged to the King of Cambaya,  
he would not meddle therewith, but rather  
sent him word that his comming to the In-  
dia: was not to make warres with any, but if so be that he  
minded so to doe, it shall be with the King of Calycut, for  
that he had broken the peace he had made with him: onely  
out of that ship he toke a Pilot, for to saferconduct him, till  
he had past the gulfe. And he being in the same vnder saile,  
on a certaine night, which was the xii. of February, they  
lost the ship of Sancho de Toar, which in a storme, that rose  
sodainly vpon them, being hard by the shore side, violentlye  
they ranne vpon it, by meanes whereof, there was kindled  
in the same a great fire, so that nothing was saued, but one-  
ly the men. Following their course in this tempest, they  
past by Mylynde, onely for that they could not take harbor  
there, nor on any other land but only Monsanbique, which  
he toke in his waye, as well for the want they had of wa-  
ter, as also to new rig their ships, for y they went all open.

In the meane while he sent Sancho de Toar, to disco-  
uer Sofala, and from thence to retourne towarde Portin-  
gale, with relation thereof. The shippes being all  
in a readinesse, they returned toward the Cape Buena espe-  
ransa, and ther by reason of another great storme, that ouer-  
toke them, there was shot out of a ship a great peece of Or-  
dinaunce, which ship was neuer scene after in all that voy-  
age. After so many great and cruell stormes, and other great  
daungers, which are innumerable to write of, he past the  
foresaid Cape, the xxii. of May, which fell on Whitsundaye,

A ship of  
the fleet  
cast away



# The conquest

Diego Di  
as found  
at Capo  
Verde, &  
his voy-  
age.

and so following their course, came to an Anchor at Cabo Verde, where he found Diego Dias (whose company he had lost before, when as he went toward the Indies) who was driven into the red Sea, where he did winter, and lost his boate, and where also dyed the most part of his men, and for that his Pilot durst not venture to carry them to the Indies, did return toward Portingale. And so after that he came out of the red Sea, what with hunger, thirst, and other diseases, all his men were consumed, saving seaven persons: wherein God of his great goodnesse shewed a miracle, for so much as in many dayes before, they were not able to govern their sailes, for that they were so feeble and weake. The Captain generall seeing that ther came no more ships, departed towards Lisbonne, whereunto he came the last daye of July in the yeare of our Lord 1501. And after that he was arrived, in came the ship, which shot off the peere of Dydinante in the storme, before that he doubled the Cape Boerpaesperansa, and after him came also Sancho de Toar, who went to discover Sofala, and made relation thereof to be a small Island, standing hard to the firme lande, and that it was inhabited by blacke men, which are called Cafres, and that out of the firme lande there commeth much golde, where, as they say, there are mynes thereof. And for that cause there goe out of the Indies thether many Mozes, that receive the same in frucke of Merchandize of small valew. Moreover he brought with him a Moze, which was given him in payme of one of his men, which he sent into y<sup>e</sup> firme lande for to view the same. This Moze gave large information thereof, as hereafter I shall declare. With this last ship there did returne unto Portingale, of twelve that went for the Indies, onely five: the other five were lost.

The Iland  
of Sofala  
discou-  
red.

¶ How Iohn de la Nueva went for Captaine generall of the third Fleet that was sent to the Indies, and what hee did after his arrivall there, & how hee from thence he returned toward Portingale.

Chap. 42.



**I**n this yeare of our Lord 1501. the King of Portingale supposing that all contention and strife in Calycut was finished, & that y<sup>e</sup> trade was settled as well there as in Quiloa and Sofala, and for that he had sent the selfe same yeare for that purpose one Pedro Aluares: therefore he thought best not to send any more then 3. ships & a Carnell, of y<sup>e</sup> which two caried Merchandize to Sofala, & the other two to Calycut. Of this flecte he made Generall one called Ioan de la Nueva, boyn in Galyzia, & this charge was giuen him, for y<sup>e</sup> he was accopted to be a valyant Gentleman: moreouer, Francisco de Nauoys, Diego, Barbofo, & Hernando de la pyna, wer appointed for his captains. Ther went in this flect no more then lxxx. men. That which the king had giuen him in commandement to do, was this, that in his way he should touch at the Ilande of S. Blaze. And being come thether, if it should so chaunce, that he should finde missing any of his ships, that then he should there remaine ten dayes, and from thence he should depart toward Sofala, and being there, if so be that ther were settled a Factory, to discharge the Merchandize the which were appointed for that place. From the which he might haue recourse vnto the Indias. And if so be that he found not all thing so, that then he should trauell with all diligence, and as much as in him lay, to settle the same before he should goe from thence: which being finished, that then he should leaue for Factory of that place Aluoro de Braga, with all such Merchandize as wer appointed, which went in the Carnell. From thence he should goe for Quiloa, & after y<sup>e</sup> he had bene ther, he should keepe his right course toward Calicut. And if so be that he should finde ther as yet Pedro Aluares, to knowe whether he stand in any need of him, & that he should obey him as his general, & wil him to settle a factory in Sofala, if it were not done already. This general being departed from Lisbon, he came safely to y<sup>e</sup> Ilande of S. Blaze, wher in a branch of a tree was found a shoe, & in y<sup>e</sup> same was a letter which made mention, y<sup>e</sup> Pedro de Tayde captain of y<sup>e</sup> flect of Pedro Alua-

The third Fleet that went from Portingale to the Indias

The order that the king gaue him concerning this voyage.



built on T  
the first  
the first  
the first  
the first  
the first

who ed T  
the first  
the first  
the first  
the first  
the first

res Cabral, which was bound to Portingale was past by, and so making further relation what had chanced vnto him in Calycut, and of the good entertainment they had in Coching, where as then did remaine some of our men, and also how the King of Cananor shewed himselfe very curteous. This as it appeared, was written by Pedro de Tayde, to aduertise all such Captaines as should passe by to Calycut. The Captaine generall with the other Captaines perusing this letter, did then determine, y it was not requisit, to leaue the Caruell in Sofala, for that they had but few men, which was not aboue foure score. And with this they thought it conuenient to go to Quiloa, where they founde a banished man, whom Pedro Aluares had left there, who likewise informed the Generall, what Pedro Aluares had past in Calicut, the which he had learned of certaine Mozes, and also of the ships that he had lost. From thence he went to Mylinde, where he talked with the King, which tolde him as much more as the banished man had done. And hauing the same for certatne, he went ouer to the Coast of the Indias, to the which he came in Nouember, and fell to an Anko in Anladina, where he thought conuenient to take in his water. And being there arrined, there came in vpon a sodaine, seauen great shippes of cambaya, which were bounde into the Straights. The Mozes wold haue fought with our flete, but our ordinaunce was the cause that they durst not laye vs aboard, and so they went their way. After this, the Captaine generall departed to Cananor: where he talked with the King, which certified him of that which had likewise past in Calycut with Pedro Aluares, and what he had done, and how he offered him lading for those ships which he had brought with him. Also he certified him, how desirous hee was to be at the King of Portingales commaundement: yet for all these faire words, the Captaine generall woulde not take in there any lading, untill such time he had ben at Coching with the Factor, toward which place he departed, and in his way he toke a ship which appertained vnto y Mozes of Calycut, the which defended hir selfe very valyauntlye; but

but afterward he commaunded to set the same a fire. And being arriued at Coching, the Factor with the rest of his company went to visite the Captaine generall aboarde his ship, who told him that the King was greatly offended with Pedro Aluares, for y he went his way without speking with him, & for carrieng away his pledges: yet this notwithstanding, both he & the rest of his company wer alwayes courteously entertained. In y night they wer brought into his pal-laice, y there they might remaine: & if so be y in y day they wer any thing desirous to walk abroad, then they wer ten-ded vpon by certain of his Nayres, which were commanded to attend vpon them, & keepe them company for feare of the Moors, for that they did not loue them, but rather were de-sirous to kill them, insomuch, that befoze they went to the Ballaice, they did one night set fire to the house, wherein they did lye: whereof the King hauing knowledge, from thence forth he had them to his Ballaice, and so commaun-ded from that time forthwarde the Nayres to take a care of them. Sooner, he was told what ill sales he shoulde finde there of such Merchandize as he had brought, for that the Moors had perswaded the Merchants of the Countrey to giue litle for the same: and also aduised those that sell the Pepper and other Spices, that they should not sell the same but for ready money, and not in trucke of Merchandize: & therefore they tolde him that if so be he had brought no mo-ney to buye their Spices withall, that then he should make no reckoning of the same. And therefore for that the Ge-nerall had brought none, he would carrie there no longer, but returned to Cananor, to take in there his lading, where the King was so great a friend to the King of Portingale, that when he vnderstood, that he had brought no money, he remained his suretie for a thousand Quintall of Pepper, & for fiftie of Ginger, & for foure hundred & fiftie Quintall of Cinamon: besides some linnen cloath, which is made of Al-gadon, vntill such time he had made sales of all such Mer-chandize as he had brought with him, which he had lefte in Cananor, in the hands of a Factor & two seruientes, and so

The mali-tiousnesse of the Moors.

Euery Quintall is a 100. vvaights



## The conquest

from thence he should returne with the first winde, & which  
as then did begin to blow, and therefore he would tarry no  
longer. To the intent therefore they shuld not depart with-  
out their lading, he shewed the Captaine generall this plea-  
sure. The Captaine generall seeing this his courteous dea-  
ling, did commend vnto his custodie certaine of his men, the  
which he left with him, for that he had sent with Pedro Al-  
uares Cabral Embassadors to Portingale. This lading bee-  
ing taken in, then on the xv. of December, ther did appeare  
in the Sea lxxx. Paraos, which were past the Mount Dely.  
Whereof the King hauing knowledge, he sent word imme-  
diately to the Captaine generall, that those were the Flēte  
of Calicut, that came onely to set vpon him, and therefore  
it were good he shuld command his men to disembark them-  
selues & their ordinaunce: vnto which & captain general made  
answer, that he would not so doe. For if so be that the  
enimies came with that intent, he had a hope in God & he  
should be able to defend himselfe: and with that he put him-  
selfe in a readinesse. The next day following, which was the  
xvi. day of December, before & dawning of & day, ther was  
come into the Bay to the number of 100. ships and Paraos,  
which wer all full of Mozes, being sent of purpose, for that  
the King of Calicut was informed, that they were there fa-  
king in of their lading, so that he thought by that meanes  
that neither ship nor man should escape, and therefore they  
lay as they did about the Baye. As soone as the Captaine  
generall had viewed them, he remoued from the place where  
he was at an Anko, and brought himselfe into the middes  
of the Baye, leaving order with his ships, that they should  
lay on load with their ordinaunce which they had, with the  
which he commaunded them forthwith to begin to shoot off:  
which was done in such sort, that they did neuer cease. And  
if so be that he had not done so, doubtlesse the enimies wold  
haue laid their ships aboard, by reason there were so manye:  
So that it was vnpossible for him to escape, if God of his  
goodnesse had not fauoured him, and prouided by his mercie,  
that the enimies brought no Ordinaunce with them.

Where

The King  
of Calicut  
sent lxxx.  
Paraos to  
fight with  
the captain  
Generall

Wherefore they were the bolder to dispend amongst them  
their shot, with the which there were many very soze hurt,  
ouer and besides great numbers that were slaine, and their  
ships and Paraos sunke, for they durst not venter to lay out  
ships abroad, nor yet had killed or hurt any of our men. The  
fight dured vntill such time it was Sunne set, then the ene-  
mies helde vp a flagge. But, for that he feared they meant  
thereby some deceit, he did not leaue off shooting: for other-  
wise they might haue thought he had so done, for y he was  
weariéd, or els for feare. But it was nothing so, for they did  
it for the desire they had of peace, in respect of the hurt and  
losse of their men, which they had receiued at our mens  
hands, whereby they were driuen to such necessitie, that if  
so be that the winde had serued, they had hoysed vp theyr  
sayles and gone theyr way, and therefore they kept vp their  
flagge. The Captaine generall perceiuing their meaning,  
(and for that the most part of his Ordinaunce was broken,  
with the continuall shooting thereof, did answer them with  
another flagge, which was done by the counsell and consent  
of the other Captaines: and immediatlye vppon the same,  
they sent a Moe, which came in a small Boate vnto him,  
whose message was, to demand peace till the next day, which  
was by him graunted, with this condition, that they should  
tarrie no longer in the Baye, but go into the open Sea, & so  
they did. The generall (although y wind was partly against  
him) made likewise his course into the Sea, although it wer  
troublesome vnto him. The Moes could not doe the lyke,  
for their shippes and Paraos can beare no sayle but with a  
foze winde. Yet for all the trouble that was past, the Gen-  
rall came to an Anko: hard by them, and for all that he vsed  
in the night a great and vigilant watch, by the which they  
hearde the enemies rowing in their boates towarde our  
Fleete, yet befoze that they were knowen, they wer almost  
vpon him: their intent as it was presupposed, was to set our  
Fleete a fire. The Captaine Generall fearing this, com-  
maunded, to byere more of the Cabells, that he might bee  
the farther off from them.

This flag  
was a sign  
& request  
of peace.

Ce. is.

And



## The Conquest

they ariue  
safelye at  
Portingal

And perceiuing that the enimies did yet followe them, he then commanded a peece to be shot of at them, with  $\text{p}$  which they were afearde, & so went their way: & as  $\text{p}$  wind came of the shoze somewhat faire, they hoysed bp their sailes, and followed their course toward Calicut. The Captaine generall gave God great thanks,  $\text{p}$  he had so deliuered him from his enimies, & so taking his leaue of the King of Cananor, departed toward Portingale, where he arriued in safetie with all his ships. After that he was departed, there came to Cananor one of his men, called Gonsallo Pixoto, which was taken in Calicut for Captiue, whome the King sent with a messenger to the Captaine generall. The effect thereof was, excusing himselfe of all that was done vnto Pedro Aluares, and further also what hurt he had done vnto his flecte in Cananor. Moreouer, he offered him, if so be that he would come to Calycut, to giue him his full lading of Spices, and sufficient Pledges for the assurance of the same.

How Vasco de la Gama retourned for Captaine generall to the Indias with a Fleete of ships, and what hee did till he came to Quiloa. Chap. 43.

The iiii.  
voyage to  
the Indias  
1502.



The King of Portingale hauing great desire to reuenge, the iniuries & treason that the king of Calicut had done vnto his seruants, did therefore cause to be made in a readines a great flecte of ships, with the which he did determine to make warres against him. And hauing giuen the charge thereof to Pedro Aluares Cabral, did vpon certaine iust considerations take the same from him againe, and in his stead appointed for Generall, Don Vasco de la Gama, who departed from Lishborne, the third of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1502. and had the charge of thirtene great ships and two Caruells, of the which besides himselfe went for Captaines Pedro Alonso de Aguilar, Philippe de castro, Don Luys Cotinuo, Franco de Conya, Pedro de Tayde, Vasco carnallo, Vincete Sodre, and

and Blas Sodre, cousin germanes to the Captaine general, Gil Hernand, cousin to Larenco de la Mina, Iuan Lopes Perestrelo, Rodrigo de Casteneda, Rodrigo de Abreo, and of the caruells, Pedro Raphael & Diego Peres. They carryed also a Caruell bntwrought, which they shoulde make an ende of in Monsanbique, of the which there shoulde goe for Captaine one called Hernand Rodrignes Badarfas: besides this xv. saile ther remained making in a redines other fine ships, of the which there should go for Captaine generall, one Steuen de la Gama, who departed the first day of May, next after following. After that the Captaine generall had doubled the Cape of Buena Esperansa with his whole flete, being at the furthest end of the currents, hee sent the same to Monsanbique, to remaine there whilest hee went to Sofala, according as he was commaunded by the king. He carried in his companie foure of the smallest shippes of the whole flete. His going thether was not onely to see the scituation of the same, and to see whether there were any place convenient there for to make a fort, but also for to regrate their gold, and this was done in xv. dayes. The friendship betwene the king of Sofala and him, was agreed upon, and that he might from thence forth settle the factorie there. After that this was ended, there passed betwene them sundrie presents from the one to the other. And having concluded, the Captaine generall departed from thence, and returned to Monsanbique, and in going out of the riuer there was lost one of the ships, but the men were all saued. Being arrived at Monsanbique he immediatly renewed with the gouernour the olde friendship which in times past had bene betwene them, and by his condesent was left there a factor, which was deliuered vnto him with other more of our men, which remained in the Factorie for no other purpose but to prouide alwaies victualls for such flectes as should touch there, either going or comming from the Indias. This being finished, & having made an end of the Caruell with all his ordinance placed, he departed toward Quiloa, with intent to bring

He goeth first to Sofala to regrate their golde.

A house appointed for the Factory.



## The Conquest

him to be tributarie to the king of Portingale, the order whereof he carryed with him in his Register, which hee meant to put in execution, by reason of the euill interteimment he gaue to Pedro de Aluares Cabrall. And being come to this harbour or port, the king went to visit him, a seaboard, which hee did onely for the feare that he was in, for the iniurie which he had done to Pedro Aluares. After that he was come thether, there arrived also Steuen de la Gama, that came with other five ships, which he departed withall out of Portingale. Now when the Captaine Generall esteemed the king but for a lyar, and had got him a seaboard, he would not trust him on his promise any further, but did immediatly threaten him, that if so be that hee would not pay tribute to the king of Portingale, he would commaund him to prison, vnder the hatches of his shippe. With the feare heereof, he promised to giue him yereely two thousand Miticaes of gold, and for the assurance of the payment thereof, he gaue in pledge a principall Moore, whome they doe call Mafamede Aleones, one whome he hated, for that he was a feard lest he wold take the kingdome from him, for that he himselfe hadde blurped the same from the right king. After that he saue himselfe at libertie, and in the citie, he woulde not according to his promise send his tribute, but rather hoped that the Captaine Generall wold haue caused the pledge to be killed, by reason whereof he should be ridde of an enimie. But the Moore, seeing that the tribute came not, was faine to pay the same himselfe, and therebpon the Captaine Generall did deliuer him.

How the Captaine Generall did take a ship of the Moores of Meca, at the mount Dely, & what chaunced vnto him thereby. chap. 44.

**H**is being done, the Captaine Generall, went forward on his voyage, toward Mylynde, where hee staide to take in his water, and to see the king and from

from thence he keppe his course towarde the Indias, and at the mouut Dely, he met with a ship of the Moors of Meca, that was bound to Calycut, which was taken by our men, soz that they did defende themselves verie stoutlye.

A ship of  
Moors  
of Meca  
taken.

The shippe being rendered, the Captaine Generall went a boorde the same, where he commaunded to come befoze him the owners thereof, and all the principallest Moors that were moze there. He willed them also to bring with them all such kinde of merchaundise as they had, threathening them that if they did it not, he would cause them to be thzowen into the sea. They aunswored him that they had nothing, soz that all they goods were in Calycut. The Captaine Generall shewed himselfe to bee offended with that aunswere, and did therefore commaunde one of them to be thzowane into the sea, bound hand and foot. The others with the feare they had conceined to see this punishment, did deliuer all that they had, which was much, and that be-  
re good merchaundise, which was immediatly commaunded to be deliuered vnto Diego Hernando Correa, that went soz factor to Coching, and so he gaue order that the same should be carryed a boorde another shippe.

All the children which were a boorde the sayde shippe, were carryed a boorde the Generall, soz that he had made promise to make them all friers, and to place them in our Labyes Church of Belem, as afterwarde he did. The rest of the merchaundise which were of the meane-  
ner sorte, and of small value, hee gaue the spoyle of them to his men. The shippe beinge vnladen of the goods, commaundement was giuen to Steven de la Gama, to set the same a fire. This was done after that the Moors were driuen vnder theatches, to reuenge the death of those that were slaine in Calycut.

This shippe beinge sette a fire, by the foresayde Steven de la Gama, and other two, they leaped then into their Boates, leaving the shippe burning. The Moors that were within the same, after that they perceyued the



## The Conquest

Desperate  
minds in  
time of ex  
tremitie,

the Shippe to burne, did breake open the hatches: by  
meanes whereof they were set at libertie: and with the wa-  
ter the ship had within it did quench the fire. The Captaine  
Generall seeing this, forthwith commaunded Steuen de la  
Gama to goe once more, and laye the same aboard, to the  
which he went with sundry of his men, with their weapons.  
Howbeit the Mozes did defende themselves as desperate  
men, not fearing death. Some there were of them that  
tooke firebrands and threw the same into one of the ships,  
with determination to set the same a fire. Others y<sup>e</sup> threw  
the like at their heads. And for that the night drew on,  
they left them there, because the Captaine Generall was  
not of that minde, they should remaine there in the darke,  
for feare least the Mozes should kill some of our men.  
Howbeit he gaue commaundement, that the foresaid shippe  
shoulde be watched, that the Mozes shoulde not runne to  
lande, which was hard by. The Mozes all that night did  
nothing else but crie out to Mahoma to succour and de-  
liuer them from vs. The dawning of the day being come,  
the Captaine Generall commaunded once more that Ste-  
uen de la Gama with some of the Parriners of his shippe  
shoulde goe and lay the Mozes ship a board, and set the same  
a fire againe, which was so done. Now after that he hadde  
made the Mozes to flie and to ioyne themselves in the  
pope of their ship, fighting alwaies with them, notwith-  
standing the which, certeine of his Parriners and Guns-  
ners would not leaue them vntill such time the ship was  
halfe burnt. When the Mozes sawe the fire, some there  
were that leaped into the sea with hatchets in their hands,  
which they carried swimming, with determination to kill  
all those that did pursue them with boats, whom lyke wild  
men desperately bent they did set vppon. Yet for all that  
there were many that were hurt, for that they came nere  
to our boates side. Howbeit the most parte of them was  
slaine, and those that remained in the Shippe were drown-  
ed, within the same, for that the ship did sinke. There  
were of them in all thre hundred, whereof there was not  
one

one that did escape: and of our men there were some that were hurt.

How the Captaine Generall made peace and friendship with the king of Cananor, and afterwards departed toward Calycot.



From hence went the Captaine Generall to Cananor, and being come thether to an anchor, he sent his Embassador, which he had brought with him for the king, who told him that he was come, and that his desire was to speake with him. The king hereupon commaunded to be made a brydge of Timber, which entered into the Water as farre as it was possible. The same was couered ouer with Carpets, and other rich clothes, and vpon it toward the lande side, was framed a house lykewise made of timber, concred ouer as the brydge afore sayd, which was made for the meeting of the king and the Captaine Generall. The king being the first that was come, came accompanied with ten thousand Nayres, and with many Trumpets, and other instrumentes, which went sounding and playeng before him. After that the king was entered into this house, there were placed the Nayres on the Brydge, those that were appointed to receiue the Captaine Generall. Who standing there, anon came the Generall in his Boate accompanied with all the Boates of the state, being richly couered ouer and set out with theyr flagges, besides that, they carryed certeine Ordnance in the proer of theyr Boates. Also there were many Drummes and Trumpets with them, and with shooting of the Ordnance the Captaine Generall disembarked himselfe, being accompanied with all his Captaines, and with sundry of his men, which went all armed.

An embassadour sent to the king of Cananor.

The meeting of the king and the Captaine Generall at Cananor 1502.

Do.

The



## The Conquest

fleet in his port or harbour, by which he feared to receiue  
There were carried before him two great Basons of sil-  
uer and gilt, which were to wash his hands in, couered ouer  
with fine peeces of Corall, and other fine things which they  
doe greatly esteeme in the Indias. The Nayres view-  
ing the same, did meruaile to see the delicatnesse of our  
men.

The pre-  
sent which  
the king  
of Portin-  
gale sent  
the king of  
Cananor.

With this the king came as farre forth to receiue the cap-  
taine generall as the gate of his place, where he embraced  
him, and afterwarde they returned together to the place  
from whence the king came forth, where the Captaine ge-  
nerall had commaunded to be set a couple of chaires, vpon  
the which, although it was not the kings custome to sit,  
yet he did at that time for the Captaine Generalls sake. At  
this present was concluded the friendship betwene the king  
of Portugale and him, so that immediately after that the  
Factorie was settled in Coching, minding to doe the lyke  
in Cananor, where as soone as the same was done, he wold  
lade certeine of his shippes, and after all this the Captaine  
Generall departed toward Calycut.

How the Captaine Generall came to the port of  
Calycut, and what hee did there. Chap. 46.



From hence the Captaine Ge-  
nerall being come to the har-  
bour of Calycut, afore they  
were knowne, did take certaine  
Paraos in the which were to  
the number of fiftye Malabars,  
that could not escape. The Cap-  
taine Generall would not at the  
first comming doe the citie any  
hurt with his ordinance, vntill  
such time he hadde seene whether the king woulde send  
him

him any messenger or not. And tarrieng for the same, there came a boorde him, a boate with a flag in the same, in the which there was a Frier of the order of Saint Fraunces, whome after that our men had sight of him, they iudged to be one of those that were in the company of Arries Correa, & remained captiue. This frier being entred into the ship, said Deo gracias, by the same he was knowne to be a Moore, howbeit to excuse himselfe he said that he came after that sort, that they might the rather consent vnto his coming a boorde, being sent with a message from the king to the Captaine Generall, about the setteling of a trade in Calicut. Vnto this the Captaine generall made answer, commaunding him not to speake thereof, vntill such time the king had satisfied him for all that he had taken in the Factory, when he consented to the death of Arries Correa, and the others that were with him. In this matter they spent three daies with messages to & fro, without any conclusion, for that the Moores did withstande the same.

The Captaine general perceiuing y all these delaies were but lies to spend the time, he sent him then word that he minded not to tarrie for answer any longer then none, & the same to be with effect, and to complie with him, or else he would make him most cruell warre, with fire & sword, and that forthwith he wold begin it vpon such his subiects as he had taken prisoners. And because the king should not thinke them to be words onely, he commaunded to bring him a running glasse of an houre, and therevppon he tolde the Moore that went with the message, that of those Glassees there should runne so many, and as sone as they were ended, without any further delay he would commaund all that to be done, which he had sent him word off. But all this could not moue the king to perfoyme anye thing that he had promised, he was so inconstant and giuen to change, with euerye vaine saieng of the Moores: and the outward shew that hee made of peace, was but feigned, by reason of the feare hee had conceiued in himselfe, to see so greate a

The Moores make him keepe no promise with the Capteine Generall, nor feare his powver



## The Conquest

fleet in his port or harbour, by the which he feared to receive great losse, whereof the Moors did assure him the contrary, which was the occasion that he kepte no promise. Upon this the Captaine generall as soon as the time was come, commaunded to bee shotte off a peece, which was the signe he gaue to the other Captaines, to commaund those Malabars to bee hanged, which were departed amongst the Fleet. After that they were executed, he commaunded their feete and handes to bee cutt off, which were throwne into a Parao and sent a shoare with two Boates well armed, and a Letter for the king of Calicut written in the Arabian tongue, in y<sup>e</sup> which he signified vnto him y<sup>e</sup> in such manner, he would paye him for all his faigned lyes which he had spoken vnto this present. And as for his kinges goods, which he did deteine in his hands, he woulde recover them a hundred folde. After all this, he gaue commandement, that in the night there shuld be brought three ships as nere to the shoare as they could, that the next day without ceasing there shoulde be shot all the great Ordnance that they had at the Citie, with the which there was great hurt done, besides the kings house which was ouerthrowne therewith, and sundrie other houses of the principall inhabitants. This being done, he departed towarde Coching, leauing to keepe that Coast five shippes which were well appointed, of the which was named for Captaine Generall one called Vincente Sodre, to remaine with them in the India, that therewith he might goe and discover the Straights of Meca, and the coast of Cambaia.

How the captaine Generall came to Coching, and what he did there, & also how the king of Calicut sent to traine him thither, for that there hee would traiterously haue taken him, and last of all he wrote a Letter to the king of Coching.

Chap. 47.

The



The Captaine generall being come to the Port or Harbour of Coching, when the king had notice thereof, hee sent him before hee came a land, certaine Pleadges to remaine in the ship for his assurance. And afterward he came in person and met him. In this visitation the King did deliuer unto him Steven Gyl, with all the others that remained in his Countrey, and in recompence of that, the Captaine generall deliuered him a letter, which the King of Portugale had sent him, rendring unto him most hartie thanks, for the good will he alwaies shewed to Pedro Aluares Cabral: and that he was well pleased and contented, to haue a Factory settled in Coching. Also there was deliuered unto him a Present, which the King his Father had sent him: which was a rich Crowne of gold, full of Jewells, a Cholar of golde all inameld, two Fountaines of silver wrought, two Arras clothes of Imagery worke, a costly Pavilion, a peece of crimson Satten, and another of Wendall, all which the King did receiue with great pleasure. And for the he understood not wherefore euery of these things serued, he requested to be informed of the same. And therefore the Captaine generall commaunded the Pavilion or Tent to be armed, in the which was concluded a further peace. Also he gaue him a house to settle therein the Factory. Moreover, the price was agreed vpon, how he would deliuer the Spices & Drugs that were gathered in his country: of all these things ther was a contract made & set down, which was confirmed by the King. And for a further assurance therof, the King of Coching, sent to the King of Portugale a Present, which was two Bracelets of golde, set with stones, a towel which the Mores doe vse of cloath of siluer, which was two yeards & a halfe of length, two great peeces of linnen Cloth, which they doe call Bengala, made of Cotten wool, which was excellent fine, a stone of the bignes of a walnut, which they doe take out of the head of a beast: they call the same in the Indias, Bulgoldolt, of the which

The king of Portugales present set to the king of Coching.

The king of Cochings present set to the king of Portugale.



## The Conquest

there are but few found, and these are good against all poison. The house in the which they determined to settle their Factorie being graunted, possession thereof was immediately taken by Diego Hernandus, and other two which were Notaries: the one was called Lorenzo Moreno, & the other Aluoro was with others. Whiles the Captaine generalls ship was taking in of his lading, there came a messenger from the King of Calycut vnto him, saing: that if so be that he would retourne to Calycut, he would restore vnto him all that had bene taken from him, and that he shoulde settle a Trade there. The Captaine generall, after that hee had considered vpon the message, commaunded the messenger to prison, for this intent, to reuenge himselfe on him, if so be that the King did lye, since he had so oftentimes deceived him. And being now determined to goe towarde Calycut, which was more to see whether that he coulde recouer the Merchaundize that were taken, then for any hope hee had of the Kings friendship, would for that cause goe alone, leauing behinde him for his Lieutenant, Steuen de la Gama. The Captaines that remained were sore against his going alone, and especially after that sort, for feare of mischaunce: yet he would not be perswaded but to goe, saing that along that Coast there was Vincente Sodre with the other ships, that were appointed to remaine in the Indias: and if so be that he were driuen to any necessitie, hee would ioyne with them. As soone as the King was informed that he was come to Calycut, he sent him immediatly word, that the next day he would comply with him for all such goods, as had bene taken from Pedro Aluares, and afterwarde hee would renue the Trade, and settle the Factorie. But contrarie to these his wordes, as soone as he had knowledge that the Captaine generall was come alone, vpon a sodayne he commaunded to be made in a readinesse xxiiii. Paraos, with intent to set vpon him, & so to take him if it were possible. And indeed with such a sodaine came vpon him, that to escape them, he was faine to cut one of his Cables, which he had out, and so made saile. And as the winde was of the land,

This messenger was one of his chief chaplaines.

land, he went somewhat further off from those Paraos, yet for all that they did not giue him ouer, but alwaies followed him with such a vehemencie, that hadde it not bene for Vincente Sodre and the others which kept along y Coast, he had bene taken, but yet at length they were faine to run their way. Being thus escaped, he returned to Coching, & as soone as he came thether he commanded the messenger to be hanged, whom the King of Calycut had sent vnto him: for the which deed he remained greatly afrighted, when the same came to his knowledge. But seeing now that by no means he could take him, he determined then to proue, whether he could perswade the King of Coching to giue him no lading, and also not to consent to any Factory for him in his Countrey.

How the Moores were the principall doers heerein, that moued the King to write concerning that matter by one of his Chaplaines to the King of Coching after this manner,



**I** Doe vnderstand that thou fauourest Chri- The king  
stians, and that thou hast receiued them in, of Ca-  
to thy Citie, & there dost giue them both la- lycuts  
ding & victualls. It is possible thou dost not letter to  
foresce what danger may insue therof, & also y king of  
how much thou dost displeasure me. I do re- Coching  
quest thee y thou remember what great friends we haue ben  
till this present, & now thou dost procure my displeasure, in  
especiall for so small a matter, as is y maintaining of those  
Christians, which are thennes, y accustome to rob in other  
mens Countries. From henceforth my request is, y thou do  
not receiue them, neither yet giue them spices: in the which  
thou shalt not onely shew me pleasure, but also binde me to  
requit thy good will in what thou shalt command. I wil not  
now further request y same, for I beleue thou wilt do it w  
out further intretie, as I wold for thee in any matter of im-  
portance. This letter being perused by the king of Coching,  
who was honest & true in al his belings, he was not moued  
there.



## The Conquest

therewith, but answered the King of Calycut, after this  
sort.

The aun-  
svere of  
the king  
of Co-  
ching to  
the king  
of Galy-  
cuts letter

I Cannot well tell how it can be done, being a matter of  
so great a waight, as is to put out of my Citie those  
Christians, hauing receiued them vpon my word: and to do  
it so easily as thou doest write. I will neuer request thee  
of anye such matter, at the desire of the Mozes of Me-  
ca, neither yet vpon the instance of no other Merchantes,  
that are Traders to Calycut. In receiuing these Christi-  
ans, and giuing them lading for their ships, I doe beleue that  
neither to thee nor any other, I doe offence: since that it is  
a custome we haue amongst vs, to sell our Merchandize to  
those that will buy them, and to fauour those Merchants,  
which doe resort vnto our Countrey. These Christians  
came to seeke me out farre off, and for that cause I did re-  
ceiue them, & promised to defend them. They are no theues  
as thou dost fearme them, for they bring great sums of mo-  
ney, in golde and siluer, and Merchandize, wherewith they  
do trade. Their friendship I doe and will obserue, doing  
therein but my dutie, and so oughtest thou to doe, and other-  
wise I will not take thee to be my friend: neither yet ough-  
test thou or any other be agtied or offended withall, for  
that which I doe, is to enrich my Citie.

With this aunswere the King of Calycut was soe of-  
fended: whereby hee tooke occasion to write this letter fol-  
lowing.

Thereply  
to the  
king of  
Cochings  
letter.

I grieveth me very much, the hatred or enuie thou  
hast conceived against me, for that thereby I do per-  
ceiue thou wilt leane my friendship for those Christians  
sake, which I take for my great enemies, & ought to be the  
cause that thou shouldest accept them after the same sort.

Once more therefore I doe returne to desire thee, that thou  
wilt neither receiue them, nor yet giue them their lading for  
their ships. For if so be thou wilt not be perswaded, to the  
contrary, but rather meanest to prosecute thine intent, then

I take God to my Judge, and from henceforth I doe protest, that I am not in fault of the damage that will growe vnto thee thereof.

The King of Coching hauing receiued this letter, laughed at it, saing to his Chaplaine that was the bringer thereof, that he would doe nothing for feare, but that which hee minded to doe should be vpon request, and so answered to this letter.

I haue seene thy message, which soundeth as it were threatenings. God who alwaies resisteth pride, doth fauour him that hath Justice & equitie on his side. Since thou art my friend, do not request me so an abhominable and vnlawfull a request, as is to vse treason, especiall amongst Kings, and if there be any other thing that grieveth thee, and is not hurtfull to mine honour, I will doe it, yea, although it were to my losse, which I doe not esteeme in comparison of mine honour. I doe trust that thou wilt take this answer in good part, and prevent the death of men, and the destruction of thy Countrey. But if so be notwithstanding, thou wilt maintaine thine opinion, God doth well knowe & perceiue that hereof I am in no fault.

The king of Cochings answered to the reply.

The King of Calycut perceiuing that the King of Coching, did stand so much vpon his reputation, and wold not doe that which he had requested him, did then determine, (the Captain generall being once departing) to set vpon him by the waie, and vtterly to destroy him, against whome he commaunded to be made in a readines, a fleet of xxix. great ships, that they might encounter with him vpon the Sea, at his departure toward Portingale, supposing, that forasmuch as they went laden, he should be the better able to do them the more harme.

Of the battaile that was fought betweene the Fleet of Calycut and the Captaine generall, as hee was going toward Cananor: & how Vincente Sodre,

Ec.

Pedro



## The conquest

Pedro Raphael, and Diego pieres tooke two of those ships, & how the Captaine generall departed toward portingale. Chap. 49.



Great  
friendship  
and con-  
stancie in  
an heathē  
Prince.

If all these letters and messages, the King of Coching woulde neuer make the Captaine generall priuie, vntill such time that he was ready to depart, and then he tolde him, which befoze he was loth to doe. And foꝛ that he should not conceiue and thinke him to be so vaine as to alter his minde to doe as the King of Calycut would haue him: he did therefore shewe him selfe to be so constant, and such a friend of the king of portingales, that foꝛ his sake he woulde aduenture to lose his Citie if it were neede. Foꝛ this the Captaine generall gaue him great thanks, saieng, that the King his Master would neuer foꝛget that good will: and in his name he promised to fauour and succour him in such soꝛt, that he shoulde not onely haue his kingdome in great assurance, but also that he would ayde him to conquere others. He willed him also not to feare those Letters that the King of Calicut hadde sent him, foꝛ that they were nothing els but to put him in feare, and bzing him to be a traitoꝛ as he was, being therefoꝛe so destroyed, and that from hencefoꝛth there shoulde bee made such cruell wars against him, y he shuld haue inough to doe to defend himselfe, much lesse to make warres against others. All this he tolde him, foꝛ the succour of those ships which should remaine in the Indias.

These wordes were spoken afoze many of his Nayres, of the which the King was verye gladd that they heard them. And foꝛ that we had knowledge that in respect of the friendship that they had with the Moꝛes, they were verye soꝛye that we had the Factory graunted in Coching. Therefore the Captaine Generall promised vnto the King that from Cananor hee woulde soꝛthwith sende him thether a flete of ships, from whence he was minded to departe.

Now

Now after that he had laden his ten shippes, and was a Sea boorde, three leagues from Pandarane, he had knowledge of the nine and twentieth great shippes of the Mores, that went to seeke him out. And as soone as he had sight of them, he consulted with his Captaines to fight with them, upon whom with the winde that did begin to blowe, they did beare.

This being agreed upon, the Generall began to beare toward the Enimies. Vincente Sodre, Pedro Raphael, and Diego Pieres, for that they ships were great saylers, went before them all, and these were the first that did give the onset upon two of the chiefest ships. Vincente Sodre, fought with the one alone, and Pedro Raphael, and Diego Pieres with the other. Their meeting was with such a valiant minde, that out of both the Enimies shippes there leapt many into the Sea. The fight indured no longer, but until such time the Captaine generall with the other shippes drew neere, who did alwayes shote off at them. In the meane while the rest of the Enimies did beare all that they could toward the shoare. The Captaine generall for feare of the losse of some of his shippes, would not followe, the rather for that they were all laden: Notwithstanding, our men leapt into they boates, and there fought with those that were swimming in the water, and slew them all: the which were neere to the number of three hundred persons.

A battaile by sea between our ships, and the kings of Calicut

After this the Captaine Generall commaunded to discharge they shippes, which were taken, in the which was founde store of rich Merchandize: and amongst the same these peeces following: Sixe great Tynages of fine Earth, which they doe call Porcelanas, and the same is verie costlye, as by experience thereof we doe see in Portugale: foure great Guyndes of silver, with certaine perfuming Vannes of silver: also they there founde, certayne Basons of silver and gylte, in the which they doe vse to spit. But that which exceeded the rest, was an Idoll of Golde, which weighed thirtie pounce waight, with a

A rich price taken from the enimie.



## The conquest

monstrous face and for his eyes he had two verie fine Emerauldes : a Vestement of beaten golde, wrought and set with fine stone, the which vestement belonged vnto this Idol, with a Carbuncle or Rubie in his breast as bigge as a Crofado, which gaue as great a lyght as it had bene a fire. The ships being set a fire, y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall departed toward Cananor, wher he was with the King, who gaue him a house for the Factorie, the possession whereof was taken by Gonfallo Gill Barbosa, who was appointed for Factor, and by Sebastian Aluares, and Diego Godino, Notaries, and by the Interpreter, called Edwarte Barbosa, and sundry others, in all to the number of twentie, of all whom the King tooke charge vpon him, with all that was in the Factorie : and bound himselfe to lade from thenceforth all the King of Portingales ships of Spices, that they should at any time haue need of, and this at a certaine price which was immediately named. The Captaine generall did enter into the like bonds in the name of the King of Portingale, to defend him from all those that shoulde make him warres for this cause. Also the King of Cananor did the lyke, and to remaine the King of Cochings friend, and not to helpe nor aide any that shoulde come against him, vpon paine that wee should make him warres : and of all this, there were sufficient, great and lawfull writings made on all parts. After this, the Captain generall sent Vincente Sodre to go along the Coast, and to keepe the same vntill Februarie. And if in the meane while there were any newes or knowledge of any lykelihood of warres, betwene the King of Coching & the King of Calycut, that then he shoulde winter there in Coching : but if not, that then he shoulde go to the Straights of the red Sea, to take such ships of Meca, as doe passe to the Indias.

The order  
that was  
giuen to  
Vincente  
Sodre, at  
the departure  
of  
the Captain  
generall  
from  
Cananor.

This being dispatched, and those three shippes laden with that they should haue, they departed toward Portingale with thirtene shippes, the twentieth daye of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1503. and so arriued with all their ships at Monfambique.

And

And so that the ship that Steuen de la Gama went in had a great leake, he commaunded the same to be unladen and brought a ground, and after that she was newlye rigged, they departed. And within seauen dayes after, there fell a great leake in the ship y<sup>e</sup> Lewis Cotine was in, & so that it was in such a place that they could not come by it, they were therfore d<sup>r</sup>iven with all the Flēte to retourne to Monfanbique, to new rigge the same. Now the winde was scant, they were faine to remaine in a certeine crēke, untill she was finished, and afterwarde they retourned to their voyage, and at the Cape of the Correntes they were so overtaken with stormes which came sodeinly, and with such a force vpon them, and that against them, that they were forced to stay there with all the Flēte. The ship that Steuen de la Gama went in did beare vp onely with her fore saile, and his sp<sup>r</sup>it Saile all to tozne, by reason wherof he lost the companie of the whole Flēte, and was no more seene. And within five dayes after that the Captaine Generall arrived at Lishborne, she came in also with her Mast broken. This storme being past from this Cape of the Currents, the Captaine Generall followed his course toward Lishborne, where he arrived the first day of September. All the noble men of the Court went as farre as Calcaes to receiue and accompanie him till he came to the king. He had going before him his Page, which carryed a Balon of siluer, within the same was layde all the tribute which the king of Quiloa had paide. Being come where the king was, his grace honourably receined him, according as he did deserue, who had done him so great seruice, as it was to discouer the Indias, and to leaue settled Factoryes in Coching, and in Canahor, which things must needs redound vnto the king to most certeine gaine and profit, besides the great fame and honour which he got therby, in being the first king that had sent to discouer the East partes, whereof he might make conquest, if so be that it pleased him. So in satisfaction the king made him Admerall of the Indias, and also gaue him the title of Lord of Vydegue-

They  
were dis-  
persed by  
a tempest



# The Conquest

ro, which was his owne.

Of the newes that were giuen out in Coching,  
how the king of Calycut put himselfe in a rea-  
dinesse for the warres, and how Vincente So-  
dre wold not succour him, but went to the cape  
of Quardafum. Chap. 50.



As soone as the king had knowledge  
that y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general was depar-  
ted toward Portingale, he immedi-  
ately determined to put his warres  
in execution, which he had signified  
to y<sup>e</sup> king of Coching before. And  
so he marched toward the village of  
Panane, where he beganne to ioyne  
his power, which was immediately

knowne vnto all those of Coching, for that it was not far  
of. Wherefore the dwellers there were wonderfully afraid,  
saieng, that they had cause so to be, for that the king of Co-  
ching did all things contrarie to iustice and equitie. And  
since he did the same vnto those that are of his sect, and  
all most naturally borne with him, why should he not doe  
the like vnto the christians which are our enemies? And for  
that God doth well perceiue the inst quarrell the king of  
Calycut hath to make him warres, that he will therefore  
aide and succour him therein, vpon the charges of those that  
are innocents thereof. This they did not onely tell our  
men, but also in euery place they railed at them, and en-  
deauoured to procure as much hurt as they coulde against  
them.

Both com-  
mons &  
noble me-  
repine a-  
gainst  
theyr  
king and  
our men.

Some of them also that were in credite with the king,  
and ought vs no great good will, did openlye saye, that  
if so be that the king of Calycut did come with a grea-  
ter power then they hadde, they wold immediatlye deli-  
uer

uer our men vnto him, since the warres were begunne in respect of vs and for our sakes, they did put in hazarde the losse of their kingdome. The king meruailing much of the boldnesse of his subiects, aunswered them with louing wordes, saieing that they had offended him verie soze with theyr vaine speach, assuring them, that if so bee that the king of Calycut woulde come and seeke him out, yet hee woulde notwithstanding defende himselfe, onely for that hee well knoweth, that God will fauour him, for his iust dealing in defending those christians, as he had taken vpon him to doe. But for all this his subiects coulde not bee well pacified, whereof some were desirous to set vpon our men, but yet they durst not, for that the king had allowed them a gard to attend vpon them, and also appointed a strong place for their lodging. Upon this, there came newes that Vincente Sodre was come to Coching, who had left greate hurt done along the coast of Calicut, both by water and by land.

Of whose comming all our men were very glad, for that they were before in great daunger. But the Factor perceiuing that they came not a land, sent the Captaine generall word by Laurencio Moreno, the certaintie they heard of the warres, which the king of Calycut was minded to make vpon the king of Coching, and where hee was at that present in a readinesse for the same. Requesting him on his behalfe, and requiring him in the name of the king of Portingale, that he woulde forthwith disimbarke himselfe, for that with his being in coching they were certein they should remaine conquerours, yelving sufficient reason for the same, & otherwise that they were in greate daunger. The Generall aunswered, that he was appointed for Captaine Generall of the Sea, and not of the lande, and did therefore remaine in the Indias, onely to keepe the seas.

Nevertheless if so bee that the king of Calycut had prepared his warres against the king of Coching, by sea, he would haue defended him, but since it was by lande, he

The Cap-  
tain gene-  
rall excu-  
seth him-  
selfe for  
deling on  
the lande.



## The Conquest

This gene-  
rall cap-  
taine had  
other  
matters  
of more  
profit in  
hand.

he had nothing to doe withall, but to suffer the king to de-  
fend himselfe, for that he would depart to discover the redde  
Sea. The Factor upon this determinate answer, did once  
more send vnto him, requiring him on Gods behalfe, and  
the king of Portingales that he would not leaue them so,  
for that the king of Cochings power was but small to de-  
fend himselfe withall, in these warres against the king of  
Calicut, who had begun the same onely and for none other  
cause, but to destroy our Factorie. And therfore he as Cap-  
taine Generall of the king of Portingale, was bound for to  
defend him, and that this was the principall cause why he  
remained in the Indias. But for all this the Gene-  
ral would not tarrie, and so he departed with the rest of his  
Fleet toward the Cape de Guardafum, where he did well  
knowe that he shoulde take sundrye rich prizes. This was  
that which he did better remember, then to stay and defend  
the king of Coching or the king of Portingales Factorie.

How the king of Calicut signified vnto his noble  
men, & all such as did assise him, the causes why  
he made this warre against the king of Coching.  
And how the Prince Nabeadarni was hee, that  
onely spake against the same. chap. 50.



After that the king of Calicut was come  
to Panane, thether also came presentlye  
sundrye noble men his subiects and others  
his friends whome he had sent for to aide  
and succour him in this enterprise. Others  
there were that came before they were  
sent for: For as soon they heard that the warres were be-  
gun, and that for our sakes that remained in Coching (of  
the which they were all glad) hoping therby to hunt vs out  
of the Indias, & therfore they came with the better good wil  
to seeke the destruction of the king of Coching. There were  
also of his owne subiects that arose against him, and some  
of

of his nobilitie, as the Caimall of Chirapipill, and hee of Cambalane, and also he of the greate Iland which is ouer against Coching, who carryed with them all the power that they were able to make. And being come into the presence of the king of Calycut, he spake vnto them all.

If that good woꝝkes doe engender friendshippe, amongest men, then I, and you for my sake, and generally all the Malabars ought to beare the same greatly vnto the Moꝝes, for that it is well knowne, that it is sixe hundred yeaꝛes since they came into the Prouince of Malabar, and in all this time, yea, to this daie, there was neuer anie that euer receined at theyꝛ handes anye hurt oꝝ losse. But hauing no sooner receiued straungers newly come into anye of our Countreies, immediatlye we receiue losse by them, wheresoeuer they doe beginne to settle theyꝛ trade. But the Moꝝes doe trade with the people with all friendship, and loue, as ought to doe one naturall neighbour with an other, by whose meanes the Countrey hath bene alwayes well prouided of much victualls and merchaundise, which hath bene a cause to enrich our Tolones, and that our rents are greatly increased, in especiall within this our Citie. For whilest the Moꝝes are heere resident, they haue made the same the greatest mart Towne that is in all the Indias.

For this cause I am bounde in conscience, and haue greate reason to fauour them, and to mislike of the Christians which to my greate hinderance, yea, and against my god will, settle in my lande, more for to take the same, and to destroye mee, then to bring mee anye profite oꝝ gaines as the Moꝝes doe, hauing giuen of themselues greate shewes and signes thereof within these few daies, that they were heere: as in taking of my Captaine Generall, and my Embassadour prisoners, in making of new lawes in my Citie, to lade their shippes first, and before the Moꝝes shuld lade. And vpon this they took an occasion to stave a certeine Shippe of the Moꝝes, which was the

The king of Calicut signifieth the cause why hee beginneth to make these yyarres against the king of Coching.



## The Conquest

„ cause, that the Moeres did as you doe heare, and as I maye  
„ iudge by the sequeale thereof, was so ordeined of God for  
„ theyr pride, of the which hee was in no fault. Yet this not-  
„ withstanding, they burnt ten of my shippes which lay with-  
„ in my harbour .

„ After all this, they with theyr Ordinance destroyed my  
„ Citie, so that I was driven to runne awaye out of my pal-  
„ laice . Not contented with this, they burnt me other two  
„ shippes, which they woulde not haue done if so be that they  
„ had come to settle a trade. But first of all since they found  
„ themselves agréued , they shoulde haue come and made  
„ theyr complaint to mee of the Moeres, and tarried till I had  
„ punished them, and not to doe as they haue done, by which  
„ it was apparant, that they are theues and no Merchants,  
„ as they name themselves to be, that vnder this coulour, they  
„ might conquere the whole Countrie . Which things the  
„ king of Coching would neuer vnderstand nor giue credit  
„ vnto, although I sent him worde . And being as he is, my  
„ subiect, & wel vnderstanding what they had done vnto mee,  
„ yet he would not but receiue them, & giue them lading for  
„ their ships, and now he hath giuen them a factorie, I sen-  
„ ding him word and praieng him many times that he wold  
„ not consent therevnto. For this cause therfore I haue sent  
„ for you, that you should ioine your selues. And also to re-  
„ quest you to tell me your opinions, whether I haue reason  
„ to reuenge my selfe or no ?

Heere this  
enterprise  
was vvell  
liked of  
by his no-  
ble men  
& others

This determination to them all seemed verie good, and  
they praised his purposed intent , but principally the Lord  
of Kepelyn , forsomuch as hee was a greate enimie to the  
king of Coching , for that he had vsurped an Island of his  
called Arraul : also of the selfe same opinion were other  
principall Moeres. But against this his pretended iourney  
spake the kings brother called Nambeadarin , which was  
the onely heire to the kingdome after the death of his bro-  
ther : who immediatlye in the presence of them all  
sayde .

**I** kindred that is betwene thee and mee, be-  
 side sundrie other thinges, may certifie thee that I  
 do desire more thine honour and profit, then anye  
 that bee here present, and therefore my counsell  
 ought to be of a more efficacie then anye others. For as  
 they are not so greatly bound to giue thee the same as I  
 am, so as it appeareth they doe feede thy humour, and  
 counsell thee according to thy will, since thou art desirous  
 to accept it, and not according to good reason, which thou  
 hast to leaue it. But if so bee that they without flatterye,  
 and thou without passion, wouldest iudge or weigh the  
 cause of these Christians, thou shouldest finde, that vnto  
 this present time they haue giuen thee no cause, but that  
 they should be well receiued into thy Countrey, and so into  
 all the Prouince of Malabar, and not to hunt them forth  
 lyke theues, which they cannot bee called, although they  
 were present. And forasmuch as from all the places of  
 the worlde, men doe resorte hether, and assemble them-  
 selues to buye those Merchandise which they haue not in  
 theyr Countreyes, and bring those hether which we haue  
 not here.  
 In the same sorte come these Christians, and as the  
 some is of Merchantes, they brought thee in their kings  
 behalfe, the richest present that thou diddest yet euer re-  
 ceive. And besides theyr merchandise they brought much  
 Golde and Siluer made in coine, which they doe not vse to  
 bring which come to make warres. And if so bee they  
 hadde come in anye such sorte, they woulde not haue dis-  
 simuled the running awaye that the Pleadges offered  
 vnto them whome thou doest call Embassadors, that  
 were kepte in Prison, for that theyr Captaine was a  
 Lande.  
 But they reconciling themselves vnto thee, went and  
 toke the shippe at thy request in the which was the greate  
 Elephant, and after ward did present thee therewith, and with  
 all that the same ship carried: besides, those that are theues

The aun-  
 swere  
 vvhich  
 prince  
 made to  
 forefayde  
 Oration.



## The Conquest

„ doe not vse so to doe, nor yet paye so well, nor vse so much  
 „ truth as they did, for all the time that they were in Caly-  
 „ cut, there was none that did complaine of them, but onely  
 „ the Mores, which they did, for that they are their enemies,  
 „ and being moued with enuy to see them pertakers of their  
 „ profite, did accuse them that they hadde taken greate store  
 „ of Pepper from the owners against theyr wills, they  
 „ themselues being those that vse the same, and for that the  
 „ Christians shoulde not benefite themselues by lading of  
 „ theyr ships. And forasmuch as this was so apparant, thou  
 „ gauest them license to take theyr freight, by the which li-  
 „ cense, the Captaine sent to the shippe of the Mores, which  
 „ was laden, and they being in all the whole fault, did yet  
 „ notwithstanding rise against them. These men then haue  
 „ done as it is well knowne to the world, and yet for all this  
 „ as quiet men ought to doe, they tarried all one daye to see  
 „ whether thou wouldest excuse thy selfe. But they seeing that  
 „ there came none from thee, they did then put in execution  
 „ the reuenge, not traiterously as the Mores doe, which went  
 „ not to defend the ships, although now they speake with a  
 „ stout stomacke, and counsell thee to make these warres a-  
 „ gainst the king of Coching, for that he did receiue them in-  
 „ to his Citie, where no iust cause is at all. For his recei-  
 „ uing of them, it is not to be iudged that it is to hinder thee:  
 „ but he receiued them as he would anye other merchant  
 „ that would haue come to his harbour. After the selfe same  
 „ sort did the king of Cananor, and the king of Coulan deale  
 „ with them, who would not haue admitted them if they had  
 „ knowne them to bee theues. If thou bee minded to banish  
 „ them out of the Indias, and for this cause art determined to  
 „ make warre against the king of Coching: it is requisite  
 „ also thou make warre against the king of Cananor, for  
 „ from thence they may doe that which thou fearest they wil  
 „ from Coching. But I will not let to tell thee, that thou do-  
 „ est aduenture thy selfe against him. For that as thou thin-  
 „ kest he is of lesse power then the king of Cananor.

The exe-  
 cution of  
 & pledges  
 defended  
 by the  
 kings bro-  
 ther

These

These words were spoken by Nambadarin, with such a stomacke and so lyberally to the King, that they were by him well taken: In one respect, for that he was a very valiant Gentleman, and in another, for that he was with him in great credit and authoritie. And for this cause they hadde him in great reputation: Insomuch, that if the Moors and Taymayles had not shewed themselves verye stout against him, the King woulde not haue gone forward with his enterpryse to make wars against the King of Coching. Howbeit, they stood vpon their reputation so much, that they thought it would be a great imbasing to their credite, in especially hauing assembled so great a power as the King had done, and not to goe forward, or at the least to do some what afore they did retourne. By meanes whereof, it was possible, that the King of Coching hearing of theyr coming, would now doe that for feare, which hee would not otherwise doe before, being prayed. After all this, the King of Calycut would needs know of his Witches, what daye was good to march forward in with his Armie, who appointed him a fortunate one, and promised him the victory against the King of Coching, and that as yet there would come vnto him more men. With this certaintie, which the Witches had comforted the King withall, which he much trusted vpon, he departed toward the Countrey of Repelyn, which is foure leagues from Coching.

The  
Moors o-  
uerthrow  
the credit  
of 5 kings  
brothers  
Oration,

¶ Of the great feare that our men were in, least the King of Coching would haue deliuered them to the King of Calycut, cap. 52.



If all this, whatsoeuer hadde past, was the King of Coching aduertised, by sundry espies which he had in the Campe of 5 King of Calycut: and therefore he stode some what in feare of him, for that he hadde not sufficient men to defend himselfe, soasmuch as all those that he hoped had fauoured him, were tourned a-



## The Conquest

The very  
sight of  
our men  
abhorred  
in Co-  
ching

gainst him: yea, euen those that were his olone subiectes, whome if he hadde on his side, he had bene sure to haue giuen the King of Calycut the ouerthrow: Therefore, for that he had but few men, he was greatly asfearde thereof, and the rather, for that of those there, the most part serued him against their will, in especially they that were dwellers in Coching, which did abhorre & very sight of our men, where vpon they openly spake it, that it were good that the King of Coching should deliuer our men to the King of Calycut, or els that he put them out of Coching, and so he might acquite himselfe of these warres. Moreover, there were many of the inhabitants of Coching, that ranne their wayes, and left their houses, and all for feare of this warre. Our men also on the other parte were greatly asfearde to see this tumult, which gaue them occasion to waye the dainger that they wer in, for all that the King did warrant them. Wherefore the Factor fearing the successe thereof, procured license of the King to goe to Cananor, hoping that there, they should be very quiet, vntill such time the flete should come from Portingale, thinking that the King by this meanes, should bzeake bp those warres, that were pretended against him, and also his Subiectes be the better contented therewith.

The au-  
svere  
vvhich the  
king of  
Coching  
made to  
the factor

But at those words the King seemed to be in heavines, & tolde the Factor, that now it appeared very well, that he had but small confidence in him, that he would aske him license to depart, and therefore he told him he would giue him none: but rather requested him earnestly not to haue any such mistrust, for he there gaue him his worde, and it stode him so much vpon his credite, in preseruing them all alyue, that he would rather lose his Kingdome and lyfe withall, then deliuer them to the King of Calycut, or to other that should doe them any harme. And if so be that his euill Fortune were so great that he should lose Coching, yet there would not lacke a place of sufficient strength to sende them vnto, vntill the comming of the next flete from Portingale to the Indias.

And

And although sayd he, the king of Calycut shoulde come with a great power, yet for all that he is not assured of the victorie: for it is sene many times that few with valiant hearts, doe giue the ouerthrowe vnto great numbers with out strength: much more hauing as I haue, Justice & equitie on my side. And therefore he willed them to be quyet, & to pray vnto their God to giue him y<sup>e</sup> victorie. With these wordes, knowing well that the king did speake them with a louing minde, our men remained somewhat eased of the feare wherein they were, and would haue kissed his hands, but he would not suffer them so to doe, nor yet woulde agree that they should helpe him in his warres, which they did offer him to do, but aunswered them, that he would not place them in anye such dangerous place, for that it stode vpon his credite so much to keepe them alyue. And for that they should remaine as witnesses, how much he did trauell to saue their lyues, therefore from thenceforth he committed the keeping of them vnto certayne Nayres, such as he had a confidence in.

Ferre ha-  
uing the  
right on  
their side,  
preuayle  
most  
times a-  
gainst nu-  
bers that  
come in  
an euill  
cause.

And that this mutenie might cease, and they from thence forth not haue anye occasion to murmure against our men, he commaunded to be called afoze him all his Noble men, such as were with him, and also certayne of the principall Nayres, which were the occasion of all this trouble, & spake vnto them after this manner.

I Cannot but be verye heauie, to see so lyttle truth re-  
mayne in you: For I meruayle nothing at all at the  
rusticall sort of men, whome oftentimes their ponertie  
enforceth to vse all kinde of villanye. But of you, I doe  
greatlye meruayle that are Nayres, that haue bene alwaies  
true in your dealyngs, that you now would haue me break  
my worde and promise, that I haue alreadye giuen to the  
Captayne Generall, concerning these Christians, which  
was to keepe his men to the uttermost of my power, and  
to looke that no man shoulde doe them anye harme or  
vpolence, but alwayes for to haue as good a regarde  
vnto

The king  
of Co-  
chings O-  
ration to  
his noble  
men.



## The Conquest

„ vnto them as vnto mine owne naturall subiects. And there-  
„ fore he left them in this my Citie, which was done also by  
„ your consents. And since you doe perceiue, that the King of  
„ Calycut hath a fewe more men then I, ye would perswade  
„ me to doe contrary to my promise; so that if I were of so  
„ ill a nature as you would haue me to be, then ought you of  
„ all other to abhorre me, and crie out vpon me. Be ye heere  
„ in your owne Iudges, If you remained with anye other  
„ King vpon his word, would you allow that as well done in  
„ him, which you would haue me doe, by these Christians?  
„ In especiall, counting him as we account of this man, for  
„ our enemy, hauing none occasion so to be, as the King of Ca-  
„ lieh: and I your King, hauing no occasion to deliuer you,  
„ as I haue none to deliuer these Christians? Which, since  
„ it is so, what is the councell that ye minde to giue me heere  
„ in, that may not be reprehended in another? If it be for that  
„ you are afeard of the King of Calycut, then know this, that  
„ it were better to dye an honourable death then to liue with  
„ dishonour, then which there cannot happen greater to mee,  
„ then to breake my word, nor yet more infamie vnto you,  
„ then to be subiects to a rusticall and a false King, in especiall  
„ against these Christians, who haue brought me so great pro-  
„ fite as they haue done. And as for the King of Calycut, hee  
„ well knoweth that if he would haue consented that the Fac-  
„ torie might haue bene setteled in his Citie, he might haue  
„ kept them in his Countrey. But now because they are  
„ gone he moueth these warres, the rather, for that hee well  
„ knoweth my power is but small, and therfore mindeth to  
„ reuenge on me the losse he hath receined. If his meaning be  
„ none other, then to hunt these Christians out of the Indias,  
„ and to fight with him, whosoener receiveth them into his  
„ Countrey, why then doth he not beginne his warres first  
„ with the King of Cananor? But that is not the occasion  
„ onely, but the enuie which he hath to see me benefited, and  
„ for that with his pride he supposeth, that I am not able to  
„ resist him. All this doe I very well vnderstand, and moreo-  
„ ver I doe receiue comfort in preserving of these Christians,  
„ hoping

It is bet-  
ter to dye  
vvith ho-  
nor, then  
to lyue  
vvith the  
infamous  
name of  
a rude  
and lieng  
Prince.

hoping in God, that he therefore will giue me the victoꝝ a-  
gainst him. And as touching you that are my friends, I  
pray you therefore to stand to me.

Now all that were present hereby, seeing this his deter-  
mination, meruailed greatly at his constancie, and craved  
pardon at his hands for the feare they found themselves to  
be in before, promising all of them to lyue and dye in his  
service: for the which he gaue them heartie thanks. Im-  
mediately after this, he commaunded the Factor to be cal-  
led with the rest of our men, vnto whom he tolde all what  
he had done, and in their presence named for Captaine gene-  
rall, the Prince Naramuhin his brother, and next inheritoꝝ  
to the Crowne, & commaunded euery man to obey him, in  
as ample manner, as his owne person. His charge was set  
downe, that he should march forward with five thousande  
five hundred Nayres, & entrench himselfe hard by the Ford,  
by which waye he knew for most certaine, that the King of  
Calycut was determined to enter into y<sup>e</sup> Island of Coching:  
whereas at an Ebbe, the water cometh vp but to the  
knees.

The  
kings bro-  
ther made  
general of  
the field,  
and armie

How the Prince of Calycut made offer sundrye  
times to enter into the Island of Coching, by this  
Foord, and how he was resisted by the Prince of  
Coching. Chap. 53.



Now the King of Calycut hauing notice,  
that Naramuhin had pitched his royall Ar-  
mie hard by this Ford, to resist thereby his  
entraunce into Coching, he was somewhat  
feared therewith: in especiall for that he  
knew the foresaid Prince, to be one of the  
balianteſt Gentlemen, that was accounted off in all that  
Prorince of Malabar, & the most fortunate in wars. Some-  
what therefore for this feare, moze then for anye good will  
that he ought to the King of Coching, to vse any kinde of  
courtesie towards him, he sent him this letter.

Gg.

3



## The conquest

The king  
of Caly-  
cuts letter  
to y<sup>e</sup> king  
of Co-  
ching

I haue traualled as much as I could to excuse this war  
with thee, if so be that thou woldest temper thy pride, &  
doe y<sup>e</sup> which I haue requested thee, being as it is, so iust, ne-  
cessary and profitable vnto vs all. And for that this our fal-  
ling out might goe no further, I giue thee to vnderstande,  
that I am come to Repelyn with a great power for to en-  
ter thy Country, & there to take those Christians which are  
with thee, withall their Merchandize: yet notwithstanding,  
I will first aduertise thee, that my desire is, that thou doe  
sende them vnto me, which if thou wilt doe, then will I for-  
get the enuie and hatred I haue conceined against thee for  
that which is past, whereas otherwise, I haue promised to  
take thy Countrey from thee, & put all those that are dwel-  
lers there, to the sword.

Although now the king of Coching had very great lack  
of men, and did well perceiue that it might come so to passe,  
as the king of Calycut had written vnto him. Neuerthe-  
lesse, he neuer meant to moue his determination, but did  
aunt were after this manner.

The aun-  
syvere  
which the  
king of  
Coching  
made to  
the fore-  
said letter

If thou hadst demaunded of me after a ciuill order, & with  
louing wordes, that which thou doest commaund with so  
great a pride, I would not haue indged thee of lesse valour,  
then that thou thinkest I might take thee to be off: For  
where there is wisdom or strength, there is no discourtesie  
shewed by meanes of ill bringing vp. These be things that  
God is not pleased withall: neither yet haue I so offended  
him, that I should consent so much to my losse, or think that  
the victory should not be mine and these valyant mens that  
are with me. When shalt he welcome with all thy pride,  
and I verely beleue, that with these few which I haue, ouer  
and beside my iust quarrell, shall suffice to defend me from  
thee, and other mine enemies. When shalt neuer finde mee  
so weake, that I will doe anye thing with such shame as  
thou demaundest. And if so be, that thou halt vnto ac-  
cuse thy selfe to such deceiptes, so it is: I did neuer vse  
the

the same, neither yet will I accustome my selfe so to doe. Touching the Christians, or any part of their goods, make thou no reckoning, for that I doe minde to defende the same. Wherefore to bee short, sende me no more messengers.

With this aunswere was the King of Calycut so offended, that he sware he would destroye all, and reuenge himselfe vpon the King of Coching. And therefore shortly with her departed from Repelyn the last daye of March, and entered into the Lande of the King of Coching, in the which he did no hurt, for that the Lordes of that soyle were all in his fauour. And on the seconde daye of Aprill, being come nere vnto this Forde where Naramuhin was intrenched, some of the King of Calycuts Captaynes had great hope through the multitude of theyr men which they had with them, to giue the onset, with determination to passe the Forde: but it was so manfully defended, that they retired with the losse of many.

The Calicutians repulsed from passing over the Forde.

Whereupon the King of Calycut toke this for an ill beginning: but for all that, after that hee had pitched his Campe, he sent the next daye the Lord of Repelyn with as many more men as there was the daye before, and sundry Paraos by water, supposing that then he would passe over this Forde. But it chaunced farre otherwise, and they mist at that time of theyr purpose, for that Naramuhin as yet did valyauntly defende the same with a stout courage.

At this present, were with him Laurensio Moreno, with other more of our men, which shewed themselves lyke valyaunt Gentlemen, as before time they hadde done in diuers other Battayles, which the aforesayde Prince Naramuhin hadde with his Enimies, in the which hee had alwayes the victorie, with the losse of many of their men. When the King of Calycut perceiued his losse, and being now, as hee euer was, inconstant and fearefull, hee euen repented himselfe, that euer hee did beginne these warres.

Inconstancie in the king of Calycut noted.



## The conquest

For he thought that immediately vpon his comming to this  
ford, he should haue passed the same. Wherefore he sent a-  
gaine another messenger to the King of Coching, that hee  
forthwith should send vnto him those Christians: who an-  
swered, that since he would not deliuer them before time,  
when as he had occasion somewhat to feare his power, what  
shall he thinke he would doe now, when he hath the aduan-  
tage? But he aduertised him to looke well vnto himselfe, for  
that now he would not be contented onely with defending  
his Countrey, but hoped to giue him y<sup>e</sup> ouerthrow: which  
indeed had taken effect, if so be that his vntrue subiects, had  
not forsaken him. With this aunswere the King of Caly-  
cut remained in some feare, and indeed without any hope of  
victory, if so be that it had not bene for his owne souldiers,  
which gaue him counsell to send to ouerun certaine townes  
of Coching, which lay hard thereabouts, he would haue left  
the warres. Which had the soner bene finished, if Naramu-  
hin had not bene driuen to send to succour those Townes,  
with some of his men. The king thought y<sup>e</sup> by this meanes  
remaining there but with the fewer, his strength shoulde be  
thereby diminished.

But this pollicie was prevented by Naramuhin, who  
had a meruailous forecast to foresee such innouations. And  
for all this he furnished all places, where it was requisite,  
in such sort, as though himselfe had bene there present. And  
notwithstanding all this, the King of Calycut lost manye  
of his men.

How Naramuhin Prince of coching, was slaine  
by treason, which the King of Calycut  
practised: and also how the King of Co-  
ching receiued the ouerthrowe, and was dri-  
uen to go to Vaypin for succour, and caried  
with him all our men. Chap. 54.



The king of Calicut seeing that his Captains could not passe through that forde to encounter with Naramuhyn, he forthwith practised how he might passe the same by some policie. For the which intent he secretly vnto conference with the paye maister of those Nayres which Naramuhyn had in his campe, and agreed vpon this, that there should be no paiement sent to the Campe, as before he was wont to send daily, but that they should go to Coching to receiue the same there. And for his reward that he should consent therunto, he sent him a great present. By this meanes therefore Naramuhyn remaining alone and unfurnished, his enimyes might passe the sayd forde the better. This being agreed vpon, the paye maister according to his promise, sent worde to the Capitaine, that all such Nayres as were in wages with the king of Coching, should come and fetch their wages, for that he could not send it them as before time. The Nayres hauing license of Naramuhyn, he charged them to retourne afore day, who promised him so to doe, howbeit they coulde not come, for that their paiement was delaied, till it was broad day: and thus whilest they were in Coching, the king of Calicut entered the forde with his whole power both by lande and by sea, and with much ordinance, and the whilest that Naramuhim remained thus alone, the king of Calicuts power grew to be greater then euer it was before. Then gaue he the onset, at the which Naramuhim was driuen to retire vnto certeine Palme trees, where ioyned vnto him all his men that he had left, he cast them into one Squadron, which being as they were but few, did oftentimes break the aray of their enimyes, with the which there were many slaine. But as Naramuhins power was but small, so they were compassed round about. And after that he had done manye notable acts, he was ouerthrowne, both he and two cousins of his which ther also very valiant gentlemen, with sundry others. Thus was he and all his slaine which remained in

Treason  
practised  
against  
prince Na  
ramuhim

Prince Na  
ramuhim  
and his  
pouer  
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## The Conquest

the field. The king of Calycut would not followe the chase of those that ranne awaie, for that it was night, for so long the battaile indured. Ther were many of the enimies slaine also.

This netwes being brought to the king of Coching, hee was therewith a while as it were beside himselfe, and almost of euery man taken for dead, in especial of our men that were present. Those Nayres that were our mens keepers made no account of them, for that they had inough to doe to succour the king. When this ouerthrow was spread abroad, partly for the ill will which they ought our men, they sayde that they were the cause of Naramuhins death and the others, & that the king was not able to deliuer them from death. With this, the king returned to himselfe, and began to weepe, and spake sundry wordes, which our men did not vnderstand, for that his remembrance was as it were taken from him, so that being hard by him; hee saue vs not, but at length he asked for vs, with that our men drew neere toward him, who made vs also to weape, onely to see him in that agonie. And being fully come vnto himselfe, he willed them in anye case not to feare, neither yet to doubt that this mischance should haue any such power, as to make him chaunge from that which he hadde alwayes promised. For which words they would haue kissed his hands, but he would not consent therevnto, and hearing the sturre that his men made against ours, he sayd vnto them.

Comfortable words of a prince

The kings Oration made vnto his subjects about the losse of his kingdom.

**N**ow that fortune doth shew her selfe forward against me, I had thought that as true friends and louing subjects ye wold haue travelled to giue me heerein some comfort. But ye are desirous to followe and serue the king of Calycut, which as often as I doe remember, it doubleth my paine for the death of the Prince my brother, and my Cousins, and since you also are against the Christians, whome I haue so oftentimes incommended vnto you, you doe well knowe, that it will bee much more grieuous vnto

unto mee, that they at your haundes shoulde receiue any hurt (then I haue already receiued for the death of my kinsmen, since they lyke true subiectes dyed in my defence) and you are desirous to persecute those whome I haue receiued vnder my protection, and such as remaine with mee for my comfort. It were a harde matter for me to perswade my selfe that this ouerthrowe happened vnto mee, for doing vnto these men as I ought to doe. Doe you not iudge so, for I will not beleue that they were the cause, neither yet for that I doe fauour them, therefore God doth fauour the king of Calycut against mee. It is not so, but for that I haue offended him otherwise: I am very glad that there hath bene this occasion giuen, that I might receiue condigne punishment, and that the king of Calycut might bee the onely executor of his iustice. And that also for all other offences that I haue done, I might bee punished by him in seeking my destruction, the rather for that I doe keepe my promise with these Christians in especiall being as wee bee, so much bounde vnto them. Therefore wee like well this cause, and let it not sinke into your mindes, that for vsing clemencie to these Christians, and for defending them I receiue this punishment, neither yet that the king of Calycut hath power to ouerthrowe my power which I canne make, and destroye me altogether, although that now he driueth mee out of Coching.

The flete of the Christians will not tarrie long, and then the Generall will restore vnto mee againe my Kingdome. In the meane space lette vs goe to the Island of Vaypin, which is strong, and for that the winter is at hande, I trust in God wee shall escape the king of Calicut. And since my losse is farre more then yours, I comfort my selfe with this, requesting you to doe the lyke, not so be an occasion to renew my troubles with this your mutinie.

They seeing the greates constancie of the King, mer

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war sent  
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The king  
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## The Conquest

meruaded much thereat, and immediatlye did quiet them-  
 selues and promised him that they would do that which hee  
 had commaunded, and so they did. The constancie of þe king  
 was so great, that whereas once moze the king of Calycut  
 sent him word, that if so be that he would deliuer our men  
 vnto him, he would presently leaue the warres, yet he wold  
 not consent thereto, but sent him word againe, that since  
 that he had gotten the victorie moze by treason, then by va-  
 liantuesse, for if so be that valure had bene vled, his brother  
 and cousins had not died, but they were betraied by those  
 that saine would kill him also. He did not passe for Coching  
 it selfe, but hoped that those Christians which he looked for  
 every day, wold restore him vnto it againe, & likewise renēge  
 his quarrell. This aunswere being come to the king of Ca-  
 lycut, he commaunded to destroye the whole countrie with  
 fire and sword, which commaundement being once known,  
 the feare was so great amongst the inhabitants of Coching  
 that the most part of them ranne away, & with them went  
 two Milanesis, which were Lapidaries, that remained with  
 the factor, which vpon the king of Portingales commaun-  
 dement were brought thether by Vasco de la Gama: the  
 one of these was called Ioan Marya, and the other Pedro  
 Antonio. Those did discover vnto the king of Calycut the  
 feare that the dwellers of Coching were in of him, & how  
 that dayly they came auaile. They also did offer the king  
 to make him ordinance, and after ward they made him some  
 as it shall appeare in the sequeale of the historie. The king  
 of Calycut made verie much of this Milanesis, & gaue them  
 greate rewards, to the ende therby he might winne them to  
 make him moze ordinance: and hauing certein knowledge,  
 how few people were left in Coching, & what feare those  
 that remained were in, and how few men the king had to  
 defend himselfe, he put his men in a readinesse to take the  
 same. The king of Coching carrying some of our men in  
 his companie, went to meet with the king of Calycut, wher-  
 as that daie he behaued himselfe that it was wonder to see.  
 Neuerthelesse for all that the enemies being verie many,  
 and

The inha-  
 bitants of  
 Coching  
 fye for  
 feare of  
 the king  
 of Calicut

and the king somewhat hurt, he was faine to retire, and for that he durst not carrie another battaile, he therefore repaired vnto another Iland called Vaypin, which is right ouer against Coching, and is verie strong, to the which he carried with him all our men, and all the Factorie, so that there was nothing lost. The Citie being thus disinhabited, the king of Calycut commaunded the same to be set on a fire. After this he sent his men to enter the Ilande of Vaypin, which for that our men and others did defend it with greafe valour, and for that the Winter was at hand, and stormes of soule weather did beginne, the king of Calycut was driuen of force to giue ouer, and to leaue the warres, and so went to Grangalor, with determination to returne vpon the same Ilande at the spring. For the which cause he commaunded to be made manie trenches about Coching, and left many of his men to keepe the same.

The king of Coching is faine to flye and leaue his citie.

How Vincente Sodre and Blas Sodre were cast adrift waie at Curia Muria, and what the other Captaines did afterward, chap. 55.



Vincente Sodre with his flecte being departed from the harbour of Coching, without hauing any respect to succour the king, or those that remained in the Factorie, but woulde needes goe towarde the kingdome of Cambaia, to take such rich ships of the Mores as come from the red sea to Calycut. Upon the same coast he took by the helpe of other Captains fise ships, in the which onely in ready money there was found two hundred thousand Perdaos. The most part of the Mores wer slaine in the battaile, and their ships burnt. From thence he kept his course toward certein Ilands called Curia Muria, which stand a seaboard the Cape of Quardafum, where hee thought good to bring his ships a ground, which were all open.

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## The Conquest

1503

The famili-  
aritie &  
securitie  
of the inha-  
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the Iland  
of Curia  
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He arrived there the twentieth of Aprill in the yere of our Lord . 1503. And although all those Ilandes were greatly inhabited by the Mozes, yet he would venture a land, & rather for that the dwellers in that Iland were no men of war, so that with the onely feare they stood in of our men, they gave them good intertainment, telling vnto them such victuals as they had, and did conuerse in their companie.

Vincente Sodre hauing brought a Caruell a grounde, therevpon the Mozes took occasion to tell him, that in the moneth of Maye, there came alwayes such a torment of storme out of the North, that no ships doe remaine there, but are driuen a lande. And therefore such as knowe the same, doe immediatly auoide the daunger, willing him likewise so to doe, and to remoue himselfe on the other side of the Ilande, which will be a defence for them, and when the storme is past they may returne without feare. But he not making account of their wordes, but rather iudging y they meant to do him some displeasure, wold not go from thence but answered them that their ships had Ankers of wood, that they were driuen so a shore, but his were of yron: and for all that the Mozes could perswade him, he wold neuer be remoued. Yet Pedro Raphael, Hernan Rodrigues Bardasas, and Diego Pierres would not tarrie, but on the last day of Aprill they went their waie, and as for Vincente Sodre and his brother, they remained. And when the torment came and began to blow, their ships were driuen on shore, for all their Ankers, and were torne in peeces, in the which there were many men slaine. Amongst these ther died the two brethren, and of the ships was nothing saued, but onely the Captaines that remoued with the Caruell that was brought a ground. The losse of the two brothers was iudged to come by the handie worke of God, for their sins, and for not fauouring the king of Coching, & for leauing the factour with the factorie of the king of Portingale in so greate a daunger. And therefore those that were saued returned toward Coching to succour our men, if happily they had any such need.

A

Amongest themselves they appointed for Captaine Generall Pedro de Tayde, and so they made saile at the entering of Maie. And for that the Winter of the Indias was come, they passed greate stormes, whereby they salued themselves sundry times in great danger. And for that they could not fall with coching, therfore they were driuen to winter in Anfadina. Thre or foure dayes after their coming thether, there came thether also a shippe from Portingale, of the which was captaine a gentleman called Antonio del campo, who departed alone after Don Vasco dela Gama: his tarrieng was so long by reason y his pilot died, by meanes whereof he was driuen to keep the coast, so that with great trouble & danger he arriued at Anfadina, wher he was driuen to winter, where also they sustained great necessitie for lacke of victuals.

How Francisco de Alburquerque, and Alonso de Alburquerque departed to the Indias, for two captaines generalls of two flectes: and how they arriued at Coching, & did after their coming restore the king of Coching to his kingdome. chap. 56.



In the ycare of our Lord 1503. the king of Portingale supposing that the Admiral had left settled the Factorie quietly in Coching & Cananor, & that he should haue no such need as to send any great flect. Therfore he determined to send but sixe ships, imparted vnto two Captaines generalls. Of the first there he named for Captaine general a gentleman called Alonso de Alburquerque, which afterward was gouernour of y Indias, as hereafter I shall declare in the thirde booke. These were his Captaines, one called Edwarto Pacheco, of whom I spake before, & Hernan Martines Mascarennas, who they said died in the voiage to Gordo. Of the other thre he appointed for Captaine general one Francisco de Alburquerque, cousin to y other Alonso Alburquerque. These following wer his Captaines, Nicholas Coello, one y was in y discouery of the Indias, and pedro Vas de la Vega.

1503.

The iii.  
voiage fro  
Portingal  
to the In-  
dias.



## The Conquest

This flecte departed fiftene daies after Alonso de Albuquerque, and so as well the one as the other, passed in their voyage great stormes, in the which was lost Pedro vas de Lauega, Francisco de Albuquerque, which departed last of all, came first, and before Alonso de Albuquerque, who brought with him Nicholas Coello to Anfadina, who came thither in the month of August, where as yet he found Pedro de Taide with their Captaines, which were forced to winter ther. And hauing certeine knowledge of the warres that were published betwene the king of Calicut and the king of Coching, and all about our men, they went immediately with all the flecte, which was of sixe sailes to Cananor, for that he would enforme himselfe the better thereof, and what had passed in Coching. At theyr arriuall in Cananor our men were verry glad of theyr comming. The king of Cananor himselfe reioysed so much, that he went to visite the Captaine generall a sea boord, and told him all what perticularly had happened to the king of Coching, and where the king was.

The king  
of Co-  
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flecte.

As soone as he knew all this, he immediately departed toward Coching, to the which place he came on Waterdaie at night, being the second day of September in the selfe same yeare. As soone as his comming was knowne to the king of Coching, ther was great reioysing at the same, not onely of the king & our men, but of all the dwellers in Coching. There were sundrye that at his comming did so reioyce, that they plaied vpon sundrie sortes of instruments, in token thereof. All those that were in theyr trenches by the king of Calycuts commaundement, biewing this great ioye and mirth, and perceiuing wherfore it was, as soone as the night came, ranne their waie to Grangalor, for so the king of Calycut had commaunded them to doe, who also knewe of their comming by the waye of Cananor. Immediately on Sundaie in the morning, Francisco de Albuquerque came to an Anko: at the entering of the riuer of Coching. The king hearing of his arriuall, also sent to visite him by the factor.

On the Munday morning, Francisco de Alburquerque having left his ships in good order, took his boates, being very well armed, and went in the same unto Vaypin, & carried with him also two Caruells to succour him, if there should come any Parao, from Calycut. As he went somewhat far off from the Caruells, came after him Edward Pacheco, who suspecting whereupon he went, leapt into his boat with some of his men, which came after him, with such hast, he made with his rowing, that he ouertooke him before he came to Vaypin, where the King of Coching was tarrieng for him along the water side, with as many men as went with him to the Iland. The pleasure was so great of they meeting, that as soone as the King of Coching had sight of our boates, he began to crye out sayeng: Portingale, Portingale, and all those that were with him did the lyke. Our men also out of their boates did aunswere after the selfe same manner, sayeng: Coching, Coching, in despite of the King of Calycut. As Francisco de Albuquerque did leape aland, the King of Coching was there ready, and took him in his armes, with the teares in his eyes, for exceeding ioye, saying: that his desire was to lyue no longer, but to see himselfe restored to Coching, that his Subiectes might well perceiue, how much he was bound to passe so great troubles as hee had past, & all for to serue the King of Portingale. In whose name, the Captaine generall gaue him great thanks, with promise to reuenge his quarrell vpon his enemies. And for his part he gaue him ten thousand crownes to spend, during the time that he did not receiue his rents, and this money was taken out of the Coffer he carried: which gift the King of Coching esteemed very much, for that he was very poore. Also his subiects iudged this to be done right liberally as it was noted amongst them all: and from thenceforth they thought all to be well bestowed, that the King had done for our men. Forthwith they carried the King to Coching, where he entered with great gloze, besides the reioycing which his subiects made: and from thenceforth all our men were amongst them well esteemed. Now it was not long

The king of Coching toy fully beholdeth the return of the Portingale Fleete.

Liberally the vinneth the hearts of the most barbarous & vnfriendly people



## The Conquest

after that the newes how that the King was retourned to Coching, was brought to the King of Calycuts cares, and of the money that the Captaine generall had giuen him: who seeing that there was likelyhood of wars, sent certain Caymales into his Countrey to defend the same, so that it ioyned vnto the kingdome of Coching.

How Francisco de Alburquerque began the warres against all those that were enimies to the king of Coching: and how the Caymall of the Ilande of Charanaypin was slaine. Chap. 57.



The King of Coching being put in his possession, Francisco de Alburquerque toke his leaue of him: His entent was, that yet afore night he would partly reuenge himselfe vpon his enimies. And so he went to the Iland which is ouer against Coching, Now as the inhabitants thereof were somewhat forgetful, and thought not that as that daye he would retourne, so therefore did our men set vpon them before they were aware, and that vpon such a sodaine, that there were slaine of them a great number, and sundry of their Townes set a fire, and after ward they imbarcked themselves without receiuing any harme. And Francisco de Alburquerque going toward his Fleete, met with the King, and tolde him what he had done. The next day after, he returned to the same Iland, to destroy it altogether. He caried with him to þ number of sixe hundred men, so many he had, with those that he found in the other two ships, and there went with him al his Captaines: The Caymall of that Ilande was tarrieng for him along the water side, with two thousand Payres, wherof the most part were bow men, & others had speares, swords, and targets. They did all they coulde to keepe our men from landing, which they did without receiuing anye hurt: and they being galled sore with our Crossebowes, were driuen away.

Dur

Our men followed them unto the other side of the  
 lande with so stout a stomacke, that they had no other re-  
 medie but to take the water, leauing behinde them many of  
 their companie slaine and hurte. And our men not hauing  
 with whom to fight, did set fire to all the Townes y<sup>e</sup> were  
 in the Islande, so that the whole Island was destroyed. The  
 next day following, Francisco de Alburquerque went to  
 another Island called Charanaipin, which was belonging to  
 a Caymall, subiect to the king of Coching, who serued in al  
 these warres with the King of Calycut. Concerning whom  
 by certaine spyes that the King of Coching had in that Is-  
 land, he vnderstood that he had made himselfe in a readines,  
 to defend himselfe against the Captaine generall, hauing re-  
 die in armes three thousand payes of the which were sea-  
 uen hundred bow men, and fortie with shot, besides all their  
 houses fortified with sundry trenches round about.  
 Also he had by sea certaine Paraos with Ordnance in the  
 same, which the King of Calycut had given him. These were  
 afloat in a certaine harbor, where our men pretended to dis-  
 imbarke themselves: which were there placed, that they  
 shoulde resist our comming into that place, if that it were  
 possible. About this place there was great store of boates, all  
 furnished with Ordnance: but the enemies at the length,  
 were driuen to runne away, so that our men remained qui-  
 etly in the harbour, where there stood in the water, yea, euen  
 by to their girdles a great number, allwaies forfearing our  
 landing, throwing at vs both stones, and speeres, and  
 shooting off their arrowes in great plentie. But as soon as  
 our Ordnance began to go off, then they desperatly began  
 to run away and giue place. Howbeit, they beinge aland, did  
 so ioyne themselves together, & that in such sort, they gaue  
 our men inough to do to disimbarke themselves, so that the  
 same was so valiantly by them resisted.

And for all that our men could doe, they woulde ne-  
 uer leaue the place altogether, but by a litle land a litle  
 they retired themselves to their Dahur trees, so to haue  
 amongst them succour, and there what with the hinderance  
 that

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The great  
 valieneye  
 of the  
 Moores.  
 in resist-  
 ing theyr  
 enemies  
 landing.



## The Conquest

that our men found by those trees, they defended themselves a small time. But afterward they ranne awaye, and that without order, so that our men followed them to the uttermost, in especiall the Constable of Francisco de Albuquerque, to whom they call Pedro de lares, who found himselfe alone with thre Nayres which came toward him. The one of these shot an arrow, which strake him in the breast, and for that he wore a breast plate, it did him no harme. And as the Nayre loosed off his arrow, went off lykewise his shot, and strake the Nayre in the breast, so that he overthrewe him, and afterward shot off another peece upon one of the others that remained, and killed him also. By the third he himselfe was hurte in the legge with a certaine weapon, which they doe call a Gomya, and with the same hee that hurt him would haue run awaye, but at length this Pedro lares, killed him with his sword. Thus all the enemies being put to flight, Francisco de Albuquerque did then determine to march toward the Caymalls house, wher he had gathered together all his force, which was somewhat strong by reason of certaine trenches that he had made about the same. The Captaines were divided on both sides of the Island, and each of them had their men with them, and in the middes of the Island were placed those of Coching. In this order they went all burning and spoyling such Townes as there were, and that without any resistance. Going in this order, there came certaine paravs from Calycut on that side of the Islande which Edwarte Pacheco had the charge off, who for y they were many in number did leape a land, & encounter with y foresaid Edwarte pacheco, & had given him the overthrewe, (if Francisco de Albuquerque had not bene) who came thither with those that he had in charge. And for that he found greater resistance in his Enimyes, then he looked for, and also being somewhat ascarde least the Caymall would haue come thither to succour the rest, which if he had so done, would haue put him in danger: he therefore commanded Nicholas Coello to take with him Antonio del campo and Pedro de Tayde, and to set upon the

The Caynials house, who was there slaine in defending him selfe valyantly. At that time manye more of his compagne were both slaine and hurt, the house was lyke wise spoyled and ransakt: of our men were hurt eightene, and one onely slaine. In the meane while that this was a doing, Francisco de Alburquerque and Edwards Pacheco, did put to flight those of the fleet of Calycut, many of them lieng along the water side sorely hurt and slaine, the others hadde enough to doe to imbarke themselves in their Paraos, in the which afterward they fled away. And in remembrance of so great a victory as this was, Francisco de Alburquerque made certaine knights, for that through their manhood the victory was obtained, for of thre thousand Nayres the Caymall had, the least part escaped: and the Island was all destroyed with fire and swozd: and thus after this sorte was the King of Coching well reuenged ouer his enimies.

The Caymal slaine in defending his house valyantly

Knights made after a valiant victory.

Of the warres which Francisco de Alburquerque began to make against the Lord of Repelyn: and how by the King of Cochings license, a Castle was begun to be made called Manuel. Chap. 58.



Al this being ended, then determined Francisco de Alburquerque to make wars against the Lord of Repelyn. And to begin the same, he departed with his other Captaines in the night toward a towne of his which is foure leagues from Coching, wher he came the next day about eight of the clocke. To receiue him, there were placed along y water side twelue thousand Nayres, of the which ther were five hundred bowmen. Our men being come within a Balle shot of the land, began to shote off in such sorte, that the enimies were driuen to giue place, and retire vnto their Palme trees, who being there, did tarte the coming of Francisco de Alburquerque.



# The conquest

querque. He being disembarked, with the rest of his company did give the onset upon the enemies, having Nicholas Coel with his men in the forward, and after him marched the rest of the Captaines. At the first meeting where some of our men hurt with their arrows, which they shot standing behinde their Palme trees, which to them were a very good bulwarke. Our men, seeing that as they were, and having those trees for their defence, they could not make them to remoue, did then remoue themselves, and got on the one side of them, shooting at them with their Crossbowes and Calibers with the which there were some slaine, and the rest fled away unto their Townes, after whom our men followed so eagerly, that there was made a great slaughter, yea, farre greater then in the fieldes, for that there they were sperreled & here they tooke them altogether in their streets, where they might the better deale with them. The Towne being left alone, was immediately set a fire, the spoyle therof was given to those Nayres of Coching which went with him: this rewarde Francisco de Albuquerque gaue unto them, that they shoulde not thinke his comming into the Indias, was to robbe any man, but rather to reuenge such iniuries, as were shewed to the King of Coching.

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his ene-  
mies.

Now at his returne with this victory, he was icyfullye receiued at the Kings handes, who requested him, not to trouble himselfe any farther, for that he iudged himselfe to be well reuenged. But he answered him, that although his highnes was satisfied, yet he was not satisfied, but requested him to giue him yet farther license, for y he accounted it not any paines to fight in his seruice. Howbeit he seeing y the king was contented, did then aske him license to buyld a fort of timber, soe much as after that he were gone for, y there might remaine the Kings safetye sure and without feare, and all such as shoulde be lefte in the same. And this he declared to be the greatest seruice he could doe to the King his Master, y to consent thereto.

So this request the King aunswered, that his desire was

Heere the  
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the latter his place. As a by consequence of the same

much they were bound to give the great speaker, a round



# The conquest



A descrip-  
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tio of the  
Forte of  
Coching.

Dure dayes after that the Fozte  
was begun, came thether Alonso  
de Alburquerque, who by meanes  
of the great stormes & other foule  
weather, coulde not come sooner:  
notwithstanding he brought all  
his men with him in health, of  
the which, Francisco de Albur-  
querque was very glad, and im-  
mediately departed a peece of the  
Fozt to be made by his men, and by this his coming, the  
Fozt was made an ende off in a short time: which being  
as it was, made of timber, was as strong & faire as though  
it had bene made of lyme and stons. It was builded square,  
and within the walls from the one side to the other, it was  
square every way nine fathome. The walls were made of  
two orders of Palme trees and other strong timber, firmly  
set into the ground, and yoked together with ropes of pyon,  
and nayled with great nayles. Betwene the two orders of  
trees, they were rampered up with much earth & sande, and  
at the ende of each of these Corners, wer builded bulwarks,  
which were replenished with Ordnance. Also there was  
cast about the same a Caue or Ditch, which alwaies was  
full of water. The next daye after that this Fozt was en-  
ded, there was made a solemne Procession, in the which,  
went the Vicar of this Fozte, who carried in his hande a  
Crucifix vnder a Canapie, which the Captaines carried over  
him, sounding befoze the same their Trumpets, with great  
ioye. With this solemnitie they entred into y<sup>e</sup> Castle, which  
the Vicar did blesse. And by commandement of the Cap-  
taines, they caused the same to be called Manuel, in perpetu-  
all memory of the King Don Manuel, vnto whom all those  
that made the same were subiects. The Fozt being blessed,  
ther was a Masse sang, at y<sup>e</sup> which ther was also a Sermon  
made by Frier Gaston, wherein was made mention how  
much they were bound to giue God great thanks, y<sup>e</sup> would  
permit

pernit and condescend, that from so small a kingdome as that is of Portingale, and lieng on the cape of the Occident, there should goe Portingales to a land so farre of, as are the Indias, and to make there a fozt amongst such a multitude of enimyes unto the Catholike faith. And that by the clemencie of God, this should be but a beginning of many others. Also he made mention how greatly bound they wer to y<sup>e</sup> king of Coching, for y<sup>e</sup> good service y<sup>e</sup> h<sup>e</sup> had done to the king they<sup>e</sup> souereigne: which words beeing brought to y<sup>e</sup> king of Coching, he reioyced therat very much, & gaue y<sup>e</sup> generals thanks for y<sup>e</sup> same. After all this they returned & followed their warres against all such as were enimies to the king of Coching, and beset certaine towines which wer along the coast, fise leagues from Coching, the rather for that they were aduertised by their spies, that those Nayres that should keepe the same, were but few in number. They carried with them for that place seauen hundred men, and departed two houres befoze day, notwithstanding it was nine of the clocke befoze they came thither, in the which towines there were more then fise thousand soules, ouer & besides chilozen, and such Naires as were there in garison, which were thre hundred, and those all bowmen, Alonso de Alburquerque, with other of the Captaines leapt a land hard by the first towine: Francisco de Alburquerque w<sup>th</sup> the others into the other towins, which were a fawlcun shot off. In the first they toke the enimies vpon a sodeine, with the scare thereof they made them runne awaie, for that immediatly as soone as they landed, they set fire vnto them all.

They followe the  
vvars far-  
ther for y<sup>e</sup>  
king of  
Cochings  
reuenge.

But menssing the enimies to runne awaie, went after them, and in overtaking them there were many slaine of them, and after that they were wery of following them, they destroied the countrie. In the meane while the laronie was raised, and for that this Ilande was well inhabited, there was assembled together well nigh fise thousande Nayres, which did set vpon our men at they<sup>e</sup> imbarcking, so that they were in greate daunger, in especiall Edwardo Pa-

At the ala-  
rome sou-  
ded, the  
force of y<sup>e</sup>  
Moores  
increaseth



# The Conquest

which found not his boat when he had left the same.  
 They followed him so narrowly, that with their Bowes  
 and arrowes there were of his men hurt to the number of  
 eight, although they defended themselves valiantly, and  
 killed many of their enemies. But for that the enemies  
 were so many in number, they had bene worse handled, if  
 so by those Captaines Generalls which were imbarked, had  
 not disembarked themselves and succoured them. The ene-  
 mies seeing this, and having lost their hope to revenge their  
 injuries, more then that they had done, did runne awaye,  
 leaving behinde them the ground well covered over with  
 dead men, which fell with their bowes and hand guns in  
 their hands. The enemies being gone after this sort, our  
 men did set a fire in some houses which were a ground, and  
 took other leaven, which were a state, and so departed, go-  
 ing their way alwayes halloving and crying, as who should  
 say, they mockt them, which thing grieved the Lord of Re-  
 pelyn, whose Glandier that was, considering howe all they  
 found the same provoked, and they fearing least our men  
 would returne upon another towne, which stode a league  
 from the same by the river, he sent certeine Paires ther-  
 immediately. And the Captaines Generalls returned to Repelyn, and  
 afterward went to Caribona, and what Edward Pa-  
 rison did in these two courses. The Captaine generall having knowledge  
 of these townes, & that he either should re-  
 maine nothing of the Lords of Repelyn, if  
 were not destroyed, they determined to fol-  
 low their victory. And therefore the selfe same  
 night they departed, but before they would  
 so do, they rested themselves till it was midnight, and by  
 castle, they might by the drawing of the day come to the  
 towne, whether they minded to go, and for as it was dark,  
 yet they departed at y time, although y one of them could  
 not see the other. And Alonso de Velburg we being told

to remain behind, he commanded his men to a space by, y<sup>e</sup> meanes he was the first that came to the towne, & that a great deale before day. And being weary with staidng for the rest of his companye, he commanded to set fire to the towne, with intent to burne the same: & for that the enemies were appoynted for his coming, he supposed he might there fore doe the same the better, and so he did. The enemies seeing the fire, arose forthwith to quench the same, which our men perceiuing, did set vpon them, & slew some, & the others ranne their wayes. Thus they did, for that they were of a base kinde of people and poore, and without weapons. The Paies, knowing that it was our men that had set fire, came thether all such of them as were in garison within the towne, which were more then two thousand, who being together, did set vpon our men very desperatly, insomuch that Alonso de Alburquerque with his men, was driven to retire, for that they were no more then fortie, of which there was one slaine, & of the others there were some hurt with their arrowes. They had all of them hardly escaped, if so be that they had not retired, which was done not without great trouble. And yet he could not haue done so much if the boys of the ships, which remained in their boats, had not set fire to a skalegon, for feare of the which, as soon as the same was shot of the enemies, aperted themselves. By this time it was day light, at the which came thether Francisco de Alburquerque, who when he had knowledge what had past, commanded to be shot of all the ordinance that the boats carried, which made the enemies to flie from the shore. Whilest they were thus doing, Edwardo Pacheco did desire mine to leape a land, somewhat farther of from the others, & going forth to doe so, he found ther many Paies w<sup>th</sup> they weapons, which had past by a narrow way, to y<sup>e</sup> intent to succour their felows. As soon as he had sight of the, he commanded to bring his boat hard to y<sup>e</sup> freight, where w<sup>th</sup> his ordinance he did hinder and keepe that passage. When immediately came thether our men, which forthwith did leape a land, & setting vpon their enemies, inforced the to run away:

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# The Conquest

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and for that they knew not the countrie they followed them  
not, but did set fire to the towne. Then Edwardo Pacheco, &  
Pedro de Tayde did part themselves with their men to go  
and burne another towne which stode a little above the  
other, and in the way they met with eightene Paraos, all  
armed, of the king of Calicut, which they did put to flight,  
and the towne being burnt, as they before had determined,  
they returned to their Generalls. And for that it was some-  
what rash for to returne, they went to the Island of Cam-  
balan, intending to destroye y<sup>e</sup> same, for that the Caimall was  
enimie to the king of Coching, where they burnt a greates  
towne. From thence Edwardo Pacheco, with five Paraos of  
Coching, went to burne another towne, but before they  
could accomplish the same, they fought a good while with  
their enimies, of the which there were some slaine. The  
towne being set a fire, he returned with his men, of the  
which were seauen hurt, and being rettyred, he fought with  
thirteene Paraos of Calicut, which he did overcome with  
the helpe of Pedro de Tayde, & Antonio del campo, which  
came thither at that instant. The enimies being retired in-  
to a certaine creeke, there went after them Edwardo Pacheco,  
and was the cause that one of those Paraos ran a ground,  
and so he took the same, and in the meane while the others  
went their wate. And for that our men that rowed were  
wearyed, they went not theretofore after them, but returned  
unto their Captaines generall, with whome they went to  
Coching. And giuing the king an account of that which  
they had done, he yalded himselfe sufficiently contented  
with reuenge of his enimies, and prayed them to giue ouer  
the warres.

What the captaine Generall had done going for  
a Tonne laden with pepper, and how Edwardo  
to Pacheco did put to flight 34. Paraos.  
chap. 61.

Now



Now by reason of these foresaid wars, there was none that durst bring one graine of Pepper to sell at the ffactorie. Neither yet durst the merchants goe to seeke the same out, and for all that they were able, they could not get more then three hundred Bahares. And so, they sent word to the generalls, tolling them to send for it, being nine leagues of from Coching, & which they immediatly did, being accompanied with all the other Captaines of the Fleete, for that they shoulde goe for the same amongst all their enemies. And because they woulde not be knowne, they departed in the night, and in their way Edwardo Pacheco did destroy an whole Islande, where hee with onely those of his owne companie fought with five thousand of his enemies, & the Generalls did in the meane while put to flight xxiiii. Paraos. This being done, Edwardo Pacheco and Antonio del campo, went and destroyed a great towne in the firme land, fighting with, & putting to flight two thousand Paires, of the which ther were many slaine and hurt, and of our men not one. With this victorie they returned to their Captaines Generall, who sent immediatly for the pepper, which was but a litle way of, and being night, themselves did depart toward Coching, from whence they were minded to send the Tonne which carried the pepper, laden with merchandise to give in truck of the same. And for that it might goe the surer, Edwardo Pacheco was sent with other three Captaines, who carried each of them fiftie men a peece, & of Coching ther went 500. Paraos. Edwardo Pacheco being departed, did passe the foresaid straight before it was day, & therfore he was not seen, & being broad day did passe by the mouth of a creek, where ther were bow men without number, & which shot at our men with their arrows. And if so be our boates had not ben pauiced or fenced with their shields a targetts, our men had receiued great hurt, for that the river was but narrow, so & with their arrows they might reach them, Edwardo Pa-

The valiant courage of Edwardo Pacheco



## The Conquest

checo seeing that they were ioyned all together, and iudging that on that sort they might do them some harme, commanded immediatly one of the Captaines to keepe y<sup>e</sup> Tone, and he with the other two, & also those of Coching did determinatly come with y<sup>e</sup> proers of their boats a land, where there were two thousand men of the enimies, amongst the which he commaunded the Falwkonis to be shotte off, the which did so enter amongst them all, that with the same there were many tozne in peces, so that it made the residus to retire from the water side, & there remained place inough for our men to disimbarke themselves without daunger, & so they did. And as the most part of them carried handguns, so they did set vpon them with the better stomacke. The enimies for all that gave no place, but shot of their arrowes, which were so many in number, that it was thought that one met in the aire with another. The skirmish was valiantly handled of the one side, and of the other, which in such sort indured a quarter of an houre, yet notwithstanding, the enimie at length did runne away, and left of their company many slaine, the cause whereof was, for that they brought no weapons to offend their enimies withall. When our men pursued them to a village, out of the which there issued many paires, which ioyning themselves with those y<sup>e</sup> fled away, returned vpon our men with such a stomacke that they ran in great daunger, for that there were of the enimies wel nere sixe thousand men. A great multitude of those y<sup>e</sup> were ther, did then as much as they could to go betwene the river and our men, but to resist them that they should not so doe, and to kill them all, our men defended themselves, and repelled them with greate difficultie. And as the river was thus defended, so they ran into the same, in the which they shewed themselves to be valiant. And when they drew nere to those that were in their boates, they separated themselves into two seuerall places, leaving one broad way, that our men might the better imbarke themselves, standing without the daunger of their Ordinaunce, with the feare of the which the enimyes did suffer our men

to

An hot &  
valiant  
skirmish.

## of the East India.

128

to imbarke themselves, whereat there was none either slaine or hurt, which seemed to be a miracle.

¶ Heere is contained the scituation of the Citie of Coulan, and how the Apostle Saint Thomas came thether, and there was martyred: and Alonso de Alburquerque went and laded there, and in what place did settle a Factorye.  
Chap. 62.



Immediately after this was the king of Calicut aduertised of the losse of those paraos, and also of all the successe that our men had in those wars, for the knowledge wherof he vsed all diligence, in respect of the great desire he had to turne vs out of the Indias, for that naturally they could not abide vs. And fearing least that we shuld take their countrie from them, they were so much the more desirous to hunt vs away. This thing they procured with great instance, and also were the occasion that we should haue no Pepper. Making this account, that if so be that we should goe without the same vnto Portingale, it would be the occasion, that we would not resort againe to the Indias. By this meanes therfore we were driven to provide for the flecte in their riuers, and that with such a number of men, that we could neuer haue aboue a 1200. quintall of Pepper, of 4000. Bahares, that the Merchants had promised, and yet this we got with great shot of Ordnance, and hurt of our men, and with infinit shedding of bloud of the enimies.

In the ende, the king of Calicut found the meanes by merchants his friends to perswade with the merchants of Coching, to giue to the Captaine general no more pepper, excusing themselves with the warres. Which thing was done in such sort, that neither with the request of the king of Coching, neither with anye gifte that was giuen them by Francisco de Alburquerque, hee coulde moue

Why the Indias were most earnest to hunt our men out of their Countrie



## The Conquest

as perswade them to giue them anye more Pepper. Now the hope of our men for hauing the same anye more in Coching being past, Alonso de Alburquerque with Pedro de Tayde, and Antonio del Campo, were driuen to seeke for the same at the citie of Coulan, which they did the sooner, for that they knew that the gouernours of y<sup>e</sup> Towne were desirous of our factorie, the which was offered to Pedro Aluares Cabrall, and the Lorde Admerail. Those that thus went thether, were fully bent to make warres against them, if so be that they woulde not giue them lading for theyr ships. Alonso de Alburquerque being departed from Coching with certaine Captaines, came into the port of the Citie of Coulan, the which standeth twelue leagues from Coching, and from Comarin xxiii. the which is beyond the same, bearing toward the South.

The description of the citie of Coula.

This Citie (as I saye) before that Calycut was builded, was the principall of the Province of Malabar, and the greatest and most principallest Port of all that Coast. Notwithstanding, as yet their houses be both greate and fayre, and so are also theyr pagodes and Chappells comparable to these of Calycut. Their harbour or hauen is verie good, they are well provided of all sortes of victuals, the people are in condition lyke vnto those of Calicut.

The inhabitants are Malabars, Gentiles, and Mozes, and the Mozes are verie rich and greate merchauntes, in especially since the warres beganne betwene Calycut and vs, for many merchauntes of Calycut leste the same, and nowe dwell there. They doe trade in Coromandyll, Ceilan, in the Ilands of Maladya, Bengala, Pegu, Comatia, and in Malaea.

The King of this countrie is Lorde of a greate Kingdome, wherein are many great Cities and rich, which haue belonging vnto them sundrye goodlye harbours, by reason whereof his customes are great, and for that cause they are riche of Treasure, and are able to make a greate power of men of warre, which are for the moste parte men but of lyttle stature. He hath alwayes in his gard

gard, three hundred women, which doe vse bowes, and are very perfect in the skill of shooting. They haue about their breasts certaine bands of linnen & of silke, with the which they doe binde them so harde, that they are no hinderance vnto them in their shooting. This king hath for y<sup>e</sup> most part of his time, war with the king of Narlinga, which is a great trouble vnto him. He doth continually or for the most part remaine in a Citie, the which they doe call Calle. The Gouernours of Coulan are as it were Aldermen, in the which, there is a certaine Church, which y<sup>e</sup> Apostle Saint Thomas builded, comming thether to preach the Catholike faith, by reason wherof, there were great numbers that turned Christians, as well of the Gentiles, as otherwise, so that of them there are proceeded from generation to generation the number of twelue thousand householders, that are scattered abroad in the Country wher they haue their Churches. The King of Coulan seeing how many were daylye converted, and the daunger thereof, did banish him out of his Countrey, who being thus gone, went to a Citie called Malapur, lyeng along that Coast, and is parcell of the Kingdome of Narlingas. And yet being there, for y<sup>e</sup> he was so folloved by y<sup>e</sup> Gentiles and by y<sup>e</sup> Christians of Coulan, did apart himselfe to y<sup>e</sup> Mountains, wher they affirme y<sup>e</sup> he dyed, & from thence he was brought to be buried in Coulan, in a vante y<sup>e</sup> was made in the foresaide Church. This Church is now ouergrown, with bushes and wodes, so that the Citie is disinhabited, onely there remaineth a poore Monke, which doeth keepe the same, for that there are no Christians nere vnto it: and there he liueth vppon the almes of all those y<sup>e</sup> cometh thether in Pilgrimage, as well of Christians as of the Gentiles, for y<sup>e</sup> Monke doth not let to giue their almes likewise vnto him, for that he was buried in their Countrey. Alonso de Alburquerque being come to the harbor of this citie, & the Gouernours hauing knowledge therof, they came to visite him a board his ship, where within the same there was settled a peace, y<sup>e</sup> which was made vpon condition, that we should haue our Factory in the Citie, & also should haue

A gard of  
women  
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bowes &  
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banished  
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## The Conquest

The conditions of the peace made with the inhabitants of this Citie.

as much lading of spices and other commodities, as would lade presently those ships, the which immediatly they went about to provide. In the meane while that our men were there, and whilst that the one ship toke in his lading, the other two kept abroad in the sea, to watch all such as pass by from other places and those that they could discerie, were brought, some with their good wills, and others there were brought against their wills, to speake with Alonso de Alburquerque, and to shew him obedience as to a Captaine general of y<sup>e</sup> king of Portingales. He offered no hurt to any, but onely to the Mozes of the red sea: for all such of them as he toke, he would cause their ships first to be ransacked, and afterward to be burnt, in reuenge of that they had done to Pedro Aluares Cabrall, of the which those of Coulan were greatly afraid. The house for the ffactorie being finished, and the shippes laden, Alonso de Alburquerque left there for ffactor, one Antonio de Sala, with two scriueners, the one called Rodrigo Aranso, and the other Loparabelo: and for interpretour one called Madera, and two friers for Chaplaines, with others, the which in all were xx. And so leauing them in peace, he departed toward Coching.

How the Captaine Generall departed for Portingale, and how he left in the Indias for Captaine Generall Edwarte Pacheco. Chap. 63.



**A**Ll these things remaining in this order, there was sent a messenger to Francisco de Alburquerque from Cosebiquin, a Moze of Calicut, which was a greate friend of ours, as I haue before declared, signifying that the king of Calicut was determined to set vpon Coching, immediatly after he was gone to Portingale, and so take the same, and to fortifie it in such sorte, that

that he might defend the entering into the harbour, what-  
soeuer armie should come. And for the furtheraunce of this  
enterprise, he had gotten the good will of all the nobilitie  
of Malabar, and that also for certeintie it was byruted, that  
the king of Cananor and the king of Coulan would secretly  
aide him.ouer and besides all this, that the Merchantes  
of Cochin did offer him great helpes toward the same. After  
the selfe same sorte, did Francisco Reynel write vnto him a  
fewe dayes after, and how that the king of Calycut was  
preparing of souldiers, besides that hee had commanded much  
ordinaunce to be made, and that the Merchantes of Coching were  
greatly in his fauour, and therfore he did aduertise him not  
to trust much vnto them: within two daies after the receipt  
of these letteres, the king of Coching wēt to visit Francisco  
de Alburquerque, and after the same manner told him that  
which he had learned of certeine Bramenes that came from  
Calycut, and willed him to beware & to foresee what dan-  
ger he was in to lose Coching, if so be that ther did remaine  
no armie of defence for that purpose. Laieng further before  
him, how many dangers he had bene in for the mainte-  
naunce of our friendship, and for that cause his owne sub-  
iects had risen against him, and that now they minded to  
doe the like. Yet notwithstanding he had such a hope in our  
men, and our helpe, that he desired none other succour for to  
defend him from his enemyes, whereof he praised him not  
to say him nay.

Vnto this, Francisco de Alburquerque, answered him, The gene-  
rals cōfor-  
table aun-  
svvere vn-  
to y<sup>e</sup> king  
of Co-  
ching.  
that if so be that he did well knowe whether hee hadde  
gotten, by such losses as hee hadde receiued, for the fauour  
which he had shewed vnto our men, he would receiue other  
greater losses if it were possible. For setting a side the great  
renoune and fame which he hadde gotten of a true and  
valiaunt Prince, hee hadde also recovered for a friende the  
king of Portugale, which is Lorde of such subiects as hee  
hath seene, who also are his to obeye and serue him in all  
thing, when neede should require.

And



## The Conquest

„ And farther, that they would with small trouble make him  
 „ Lord of greater cities then Coching, and that also he might  
 „ beleue, that euen as they did restore him vnto his estate,  
 „ euen so they would conserue him in the same. And altho  
 „ that there were made with the King of Calycut the great  
 „ test peace that could be, yet he sayde he had so small a confi-  
 „ dence in his swinges, that he would not leaue him without  
 „ an armie of ships, before that he departed from the Indias,  
 „ for that he did well know, how little truth that King vsed.  
 „ And if so be, that vntil this time he had dissembled with him,  
 „ it was onely to see whether by this meanes he might lade  
 „ his ships, for otherwise he could not do it, in especiall y<sup>e</sup> time  
 „ being as it is so nere speat.

With this aunswere, the King was satisfied: and since  
 that Francisco de Alburquerque could haue no more Pe-  
 per then that he had, which was but a small quantitie, hee  
 determined to depart toward Portingale, but first he would  
 nominate him that should remaine in the Indias for Cap-  
 taine generall, that the King of Coching should vnderstand  
 the same. And for that he knew, that he that was appoin-  
 ted, would thinke it very dangerous to remaine there, with  
 so few men as he was able to leaue him, he durst commit  
 it to none of his Captaines. Howbeit after that he had offer-  
 red the same to them all, and they were not willing to ac-  
 cept it, last of all he gaue the gouernment to Edwarte Pacheco, who did accept it with a great good will, more for to  
 serue God and his king, then for any profite he knewe that  
 hee should get in remaining in the Indias.

Edwarte  
 Pacheco  
 appointed  
 Captaine  
 generall  
 for the  
 Indias

And when it was once spread abroad & knowne to the  
 king of Coching, that Edwarte pacheco was he that was  
 appointed, he was well pleased therewith, for that he hadde  
 heard before of his valour. This being concluded vpon,  
 Francisco de Alburquerque made saile, carrieng with him  
 all the rest of the flecte. But first he gaue the king to vnder-  
 stand that he did carry the same no further then to Ca-  
 nanor, for because of the flecte of Calycut, which might en-  
 counter with him, and so woꝝke him some displeasure in his

Port, where he minded to stay (as he did) procuring the libertie of Rodrigo Reynel and the others that were there. This determination being knowen to the King of Calycut, he sent him word, that it were not requisite that he should haue him away, but rather offered him, if so be that he would tarrie, to giue him the Pepper that he had promised to deliuer. But hearing this, he supposed that he gaue the same out, that Rodrigo Reynel with the others, should be the moze desirous to remaine in the Indias. At this instant came in Alonso de Alburquerque which returned from Coulan, and the time being spent, he would not tarrye there any longer, but with the rest went toward Cananor. And being there arriued, there came a letter from Rodrigo Reynel, in the which he wrote vnto him, that the King of Calycut was certainly bent to set vpon Coching, immediately after that he were gone. And that all those dissimulations which he did vse in offering to giue him Pepper, was but for feare he had conceiued that he would haue burnt his ships, which were as then in his harbour. This newes the Captaine generall kept close to himselfe, that the same should not come to heares of Edwarde Pacheco, vnto whom was lefte the shippe in the which he went, and two Caruells, of the which were Captaines Pedro Raphael and Diego Pires, besides a shippe boate.

Also they lefte him foure scoze and fenne men, and those whole, that were needfull, for all the rest were sicke. Also, there was left him, the most parte of the Ordinaunce, with the most parte of the munition that they were able to spare. Now being knowen to them all, of the great power that the King of Calycut had in a readinesse, they did then meruaile, that Edwarde Pacheco would accept the same, in especially, for that he remayned with so small a Fléete. Some therefore there were that gaue out and sayde, God haue mercie vpon Edwarde Pacheco, and those that doe remayne with him: supposing, that in pery déede, he shoulde not escape.

And although these words were spoken within his hearing,



## The conquest

hearing, yet for all that he would not but tarrie : The Capitaine Generall being dispatched, did depart towarde Portingale, the last of Januarie, in the yeare of our Lord

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They depart from the Indias and saile towarde Portingal

The first that made saile was Alonso de Alburquerque, Francisco de Alburquerque, and Nicholas Coello that departed afterwarde, were cast away, Pedro de Taidé was driuen to Quayloa, and entering vpon the Barre, his Shippe was there cast away, with the most parte of his men, by meanes whereof hee went to Monsambique in a Zambuco, where afterwarde hee dyed. Hee left there a Letter written of all his successe, and also declaring in what estate the Indias did remaine, which hee commaunded to be deliuered to any Capitaine that should come thether from Portingale.

Alonso de Alburquerque, and Antonio del Campo came to Lisbonne the thre and twentieth of August, in the yeare aboue sayde, and tolde the King of the estate of the Indias, who also presented him with foure hundred weight of the greate seede of Pearles, which is called Alhofer or Ragges, and with 144. pounce weight of greate Pearle, of greate estimation, and eight Dyffers, in the which the same do grow : and also a Diamond Tablet, the which was as bigge as a greate Beane, besides many other iewells, and also two hoxes out of Persia, the which were great runners.

¶ How Edwarte pacheco behaued himselfe in Cananor, and in his course toward coching : and what else he past with the king at his arrival. chap. 64.

Francisco de Alburquerque having departed towarde Portingale, Edwarte pacheco which remained for Capitaine Generall in the Indias, having a while stayed in

in Cananor to take in there his victualles, brought himselfe vnder sayle, and came to an Ankoꝝ without the point of Cananor, and from thence hee sent Pedro Raphaell to goe a long the Coast, and to cause all such Shippes as he coulde discrye to beare with the Captaine, and to reknowledge him foꝝ their Generall. At this instaunt was Diego pieres a newe rigging of his Carnell in Coching. And all these Shippes that were brought befoze the Generall, gaue an account whether they were bounde, and what they carryed, and also of whence they were. And if so bee that hee founde anye Pepper, hee woulde take the same, as hee did from some other Shippes that were bound to Calycut, in the which order hee vsed such rigour, that afterwarde hee was feared of all men.

Whilist hee was thus at an Ankoꝝ, there came vppon him in the night a flecte of twentye and fve Saile of Shippes, which vppon a sodeine made him to coniecture that they were of Calycut. And seeing himselfe in such daunger, hee commaunded to let slippe their Cabells by theyꝝ Halls, foꝝ that vppon such a sodeine they coulde not weye theyꝝ Ankors with theyꝝ Capsteines, and with the same he cut and made his course into the Sea, to bring himselfe in the winde of those Sayles, vppon whome hee commaunded to shote off all his Ordnance. And as they were Shippes laden with Rice, so ranne they their waye as fast as they coulde. Some there were that ranne a grounde, and moze hurt had bene done, had it not bene foꝝ a greate ship of the Moores that came in their company, in the which were well nere to the number of 400. Moores, that were of the kingdome of Cananor. These thinking that they might take our shippe, came sodeinly vppon them, alwaies shooting of their arrowes, and we aunswering them likewise with our Ordnance. This skirmish continued till it was almost day, and then they tolde what they were. After that Edwards Pacheco had thus well beaten him with his Ordnance, with the which were nine of his men slaine, besides many that were hurt, they tolde what they were,

A valiant  
skirmish  
with an  
hot ship  
of the  
Moores.



## The conquest

And for that there durst not passe anye Ship by for feare that they shuld be taken, the Captaine Generall departed towards Coching, and in the waye he fought with certeine ships of the Mozes, some he burnt, and others hee tooke, beside those that were sunke. Thus with greate victorie hee arrived at Coching, and landed at the Castle, where he understood by the Factor, that the newes of the preparation that the king of Calycut had made for the warres was most true, and that the king of Coching stood in greate feare thereof, for that the Mozes that were inhabitantes of Coching, were against their king for the mainteining of these warres against the king of Calycut. The next day following the Captaine Generall went to visite the king of Coching, carrieng his boats with him well armed and fenced, with certeine pavises made of Bozdes, and sette with flagges, besides certeine Ordinaunce which they had in the same, with the which he shewed himselfe to be verve ioyfull, the rather that the king might take occasion to be merrie: who after that he understode how small a flecte there was left to defend his countrie withall, he could not bee but verve pensatiue, and sayde vnto the Captaine Generall, that the Mozes of Coching hadde tolde him that hee did not remaine in the Indias to defende him from the king of Calycuts power, but to gather together the Merchaundise that were in the Factorie in Coching, and in the Factors custodie, with all those that were there, and so to carry them all to Cananor and Coulan.

What  
great feare  
the king of  
Coching  
was put  
into by  
his traitorous  
subjects.

And therefore hee earnestlye requested him to tell him if it were so or not, for hee did thinke the same to be true, by reason that there was lesse so small a flecte. Which the rather also made him to doubt that hee would not farrie to fight with the king of Calycuts power, but woulde doe as the Mozes hadde tolde him, wherefore hee prayed him to aduertise him of the truth thereof, for that if it were so, hee might in time seeke his reuenge, although as then hee should hardlye finde the same, since that he had no further helpe,

The

The Captaine Generall perceiuing the distrust that the king had, was offended therewith, and answered him, saying.

**I** Doe much meruaile of thee (considering that thou hast so great experience of the fidelitie of the Portingales) that thou doest aske me whether I doe remaine for so traitterous an act, as this is, that in such a time I should do as the Mozes haue told thee, & thou wilt beleue them, knowing that they are so greatly our enemies. Thinking that thou vnderstanding of this, shouldst not bring in question such a matter out of all reason. And if so be that Francisco de Alburquerque would haue done any such thing, it had bene a great deale better that he with all his Captains had done it, and not haue left me alone to do the same, & to runne in daunger, and to meeete on the seas with so great a fleet of the kings of Calicut, for them to set vpon mee only. And if it were so that I should haue remained for to haue done so foule a deede, yet I would haue tolde thee thereof, that I had so meant to doe, for that I was asfearde of the king of Calicuts power. But for that I doe take thee to be a man indued with reason, I did suppose that thou wouldest not haue thought ill thereof. For otherwise those being warned thereof, it might haue bene very profitable vnto thee, to haue remained free from the enuie and mallice of the king of Calicut. Which thing if so be that the Mozes had considered of, they would not haue tolde thee so great a fable. Beleue me, if they could haue done thee a greater iniurie, they would haue done it, for the good will thou doest beare vnto vs. This I doe knowe very well, but let not that trouble thee. For although thou doest lose them, and all the rest of thy subiectes, yet thou doest recouer me, and as many Portingales as heere remaine, who all will die in thy seruice if it were neede, for that is the onely cause wee did remaine in the Indias, and in especially: for there was no man that bound me therevnto, if so be y I wold not, but only the fidelitpe & truth which thou hast alwaies vsed to,

The answer  
vvhich the  
Captaine  
Generall  
made to y  
king of  
Coching.



## The Conquest

„ wards our men untill such time as thou diddest lose Co-  
 „ ching, and diddest see the same burnt. For the which cause  
 „ thou oughtest to esteeme the better of thy selfe, for thereby  
 „ thou hast exalted thy fame thzough all the Countrie, and  
 „ therfore thy name wil remaine for ever, which is the grea-  
 „ test treasure that kings canne leaue behinde them, and the  
 „ onely thing that all men doe seeke for. And beleue me, when  
 „ the king of Calycut did first set fire to Coching, the same  
 „ was his destruction, which was afterwarde well reuen-  
 „ ged vppon thine enemies by the Portingales, & so thou shalt  
 „ now bee as well defended by them. And although thou doe  
 „ est thinke vs to bee fewe and a small flete, yet I doe pro-  
 „ mise thee, that very shortly we will seeine to bee verie ma-  
 „ ny by our valyantesse. And I hope in God that we shall  
 „ so defend whatsoener straight or passage the king of Caly-  
 „ cut shall enter into, where assuredly we will tarry and not  
 „ remoue our selues from thence, neither night nor daye, and  
 „ for the passages that are straight, our armie is inough, and  
 „ therfore it skilleth not, there remaine no more for the ri-  
 „ uers, for that these are sufficient. And since that they chose  
 „ me to remaine, beleue certainly that they did well knowe  
 „ they left him that shal excuse thee of thy trauaile, and of the  
 „ wearieng of thy men. And therefore be thou merrie and re-  
 „ solue thy selfe (that by Gods grace) it shall not happen now  
 „ vnto thee as heretofore it didde, when thou diddest lose  
 „ Coching: for I and these that doe remaine with me shall  
 „ take vppon vs the whole charge and daunger of the  
 „ warres.

A few va-  
 liant men  
 are better  
 then many  
 more na-  
 ked and  
 cowardly

How the Moores of Coching prepared to go from  
 thence: and how the captaine Generall stayde  
 certeine of them that they should not departe,  
 and what more he did. chap. 65.

The



The king being with this, somewhat eased & recomforted, touching that the Mozes had told him, the Captaine general went to see the streights, & to fortifie them, which had great neede thereof. But they all were wel furnished, sauing onely the sword, which he commanded to be fortified with stakes, that ther might enter no vessells of the enemies. In the meane time he was aduertised by a Letter from Rodrigo Reynel, that a principall Moze of Coching, and besides diuerse others, did procure all that they could to leaue the citie, that y<sup>e</sup> king might remaine alone, & that therupon this Moze hath come twice to speake with the king of Calycut in his owne behalfe, and in the name of the others. This newes troubled the Captaine Generall a while, howbeit to disappoint them of their suttile dealing, and that the same shoulde take no effect, he thought it necessaris to execute this principall Moze, that the others might conceiue some feare thereof. This beeing knowne to the king of Coching, he woulde not consent therevnto, thinking that if so be that he were executed, the others would make a mutenie immediatly, and then there shuld be no victualls brought into the citie, for that those did prouide the citie therewith in trucke of their merchandise, and therefore he thought best to dissemble with them all. The Captaine Generall seeing that the king woulde not consent therevnto, tolde him that he woulde talke with the Mozes himselfe, and that he had thought to vse some policie that none of them shoulde depart out of the citie. But first he commaunded all his owne men to obeye him in all such occasions as shoulde be needfull or requisite, which commandement the king also gaue out amongst his subiect: this beeing done, the Captaine general went with forty of his men to Coching, to the house of this principall Moze called Belinamacar, who dwelt hard by the riuer side, requesting him to send for certeine Mozes which he did name, for y<sup>e</sup> he wold consult with them vpon a certeine matter which did concerne them all.

To



## The Conquest

To whom the Moeres came immediatly, for that they wer  
afeard of him, and when hee saue them all, he saide vnto  
them.

The gene  
rals Orati-  
on to the  
Moeres cō-  
cerning  
his abode  
in the the  
Indias.

I Did send for you all, honest Merchants, that you shoulde  
vnderstand, wherfore and for what cause I remained in  
the Indias, for that it is possible that all you do not know.  
Some there be that doe report that I do remaine to gather  
together the Factorie, and so to carrie the same to Coulan,  
and to Cannor: but that you may vnderstand it is not so,  
I will therefore tell you the truth. I doe remaine for no  
other purpose but onely to keepe Coching, and if so be that  
it were needfull or requisite, to die my selfe, and all those  
that doe remaine with me, in your defence, in preserving  
you from the king of Calycut. And this shall be manifest  
vnto him, if so be that he doe come, for I promise you all,  
that I will meet with him in the way of Camibalan, wher-  
as it is tolde me he will enter, and if so be there he dare  
fight with me, I will not doubt but to take him prisoner,  
and carrie him with me into Portingale. Wherefore vntill  
such time, as you doe not see any thing to the contrarie, I  
earnestly request you that you doe not goe from Coching,  
for that I heare that you are minded to goe from thence, &  
that you doe allure the residue of the inhabitants with you,  
for as you are the chiefeest and principalls, so all the common  
sort of people doth follow you. Now I meruaile much y<sup>e</sup> be-  
ing men of so gret wisdome as you are, you wil leaue your  
houses in the which you were borne, & the country where  
in you haue dwelt so many yeres, not for feare of any thing  
that you haue seene, but onely of that which you heare,  
which thing for women to doe were verie ill, much more  
for you that are men. But if so be that you would go, when  
you shall seeme in daunger, or else ranne awaie, I woulde  
not blame you, but to goe alwaye before you haue seene  
any of these dangers, or anye battaile fought, I account  
the same, either cowardise, or else mallice. You doe well  
know, that in a manner yesterday, how few Portingales did

giue

How few  
Portingals  
haue van-  
quished  
thousāds  
of their  
enimies.

giue the ouerthrowe to thousands of our enemies, which  
 now also come to seeke vs out. And if so be that you will  
 alleadge, that we were more in number then we are now,  
 indeede it is so, for then we fought in open fieldes, where it  
 was necessarie there should be many: and now in a nar-  
 rowe waye, where a fewe shall doe as much as though  
 were many more. And since that I can fight, as you haue  
 well heard of the same, for that I haue bene he that haue  
 done most hurt to our enemies (as the king of Coching is  
 a good witnesse thereof) I neuer meane to yelde, who shall  
 lose more then you all, if I be overcome. Haue ye therefore  
 a sure hope in me, and in those that remaine with me,  
 and tarrie untill such time you may see the successe of all  
 things that we doe looke for, and since that your king doth  
 tarrie, why will ye goe your waie? Remember that I and  
 the others that doe remaine with me, doe sojourne in the  
 Indias so farre from our Countrey, to defend the king of  
 Coching, and you that are his subiects and naturally borne  
 in the Countrey. Will you then forsake him and your coun-  
 try? It were great shame for women so to doe, much more  
 for honest men as you are. I doe desire you that you do not  
 dishonour your selues, nor yet doe to me so great an iniu-  
 rie, in hauing no confidence that I will defend you: for I  
 doe giue vnto you all my word, that I will defend you fro  
 a greater power then any the king of Calycut canne make.  
 For therefore and for this cause was I chosen, and those  
 that did appoint me to remaine in the Indias, did know of  
 the warres that the king of Calycut intended, and what  
 power he had, in respect whereof I doe once againe request  
 you, to beleue that the king of Calycut shall neuer set his  
 foot in Coching. Wherefore I desire you that none of  
 you doe remoue, for whosoener doth otherwise shall well  
 vnderstand, that if so be I may take him I will hang him,  
 and so I sweare by my lawe. And moreover I giue you to  
 vnderstande, that none of you all shall escape, for here in  
 this port I doe minde to tarrie, watching both day & night.  
 Now therefore let euery one of you looke to that which shall

An hard  
 thretning  
 but poly-  
 tike and  
 necessary.

will

I am.

be,



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11 behoue him, and if so be you doe perforce that which I  
12 haue requested you, doe you then assure your selues to haue  
13 me for your friend, and if not, for your mostall enemie, and  
14 more cruell then you would wish me to be to the king of  
15 Calycut. And therfore each of you, speak plainly your mind  
16 what you will doe herein.

17 This being spoken, it gaue him occasion to encrease his  
18 cholar, that without any consideration thereof, hee did speak  
19 so lowde, that the Mozes with the same did double theyr  
20 feare, that they had conceiued of him, fearing indeede that  
21 immediatly he would haue hanged them all. Wherefore pre-  
22 sently they began to excuse themselves, touching that hee  
23 charged them with all, but he would not carrie the hea-  
24 ring of the same, to the intent to put them in greater feare,  
25 but sent immediatly for his Ship, causing it to be brought  
26 to an Ankor, hard ouer against Coching, besides one of the  
27 Caruells, and two of the boates, which he appointed forth-  
28 with to be set in such order, that there coulde none goe out  
29 of Coching by water, but must needs be scene.

30 He had also many Paraos, which he hadde caused to be  
31 newly rigged, with the which in the night, he watched in  
32 the riuers, which runne round about the citie. Also at Sun-  
33 setting he would take all the boats that could carry men or  
34 Muske, and commaund the same to be brought a boorde his  
35 ship, and to keepe the watch, and in the morning he returned  
36 them to their owners. With this diligence they of Co-  
37 ching were so feared, that there was none y durst go forth  
38 without his licence, & by meanes of those extremities vled,  
39 the Mozes and Gentiles were quiet, yet for all these trou-  
40 bles that the Captaine Generall had, the most part of the  
41 night he would venture a land into Repelyn, in the which  
42 he burnt towines, killed men, and tooke greate store of Cat-  
43 tell and Paraos, and also did them sundrie other iniuries, at  
44 the which the Mozes of Coching much mervailed, namely,  
45 how he could suffer so great trauaile, and therfore they gaue  
46 out, that he was the diuell.

they cal  
Captaine  
Generall  
a Diuell.

How

How the Captaine Generall made an entrie into Repelyn, and also how he departed towardes the straights of Cambalan, there to tarrie the king of Calicuts comming. Chap. 66.



**A**t this instant was the king of Coching aduertised that the king of Calicut was come to Repelin, to gather his power together, and so to go from thence to Coching by the straights of Cambalan. After y<sup>e</sup> selfe same manner did Rodrigo Reinel, write vnto him, who lay as then very sicke, and afterward dyed, which the king of Calicut hearing, commaunded to be taken all that he had. This being knowne to the Mozes of Coching that the king of Calicut was in Repelyn, they wold haue giuen occasion to the towne men to haue runne away, but there was none that durst venture to doe it, for feare of the Captaine Generall. Who after that he knew for certaintye of his being in Repelyn, and that all men might vnderstand how little he did esteeme the king of Calicut and his power, and armie of ships, did one night set vpon a towne of the countrie of Repelyn, at such houres when all were a sleepe, and did set fire to the same. And after that it was well kindled, our men were knowne, and immediatly there came many paires, as wel of the towne, as also from other places thereabouts adioyning. The Captaine Generall was forced to retire, & that with great daunger, vnto his boats, with five of his men hurt, and of his enimies there were many slaine and hurt, & yet for all that, those enimies that remained alieue, followed him a good while. And as our men returned toward Coching, there were shot by them so many arrows which fell vpon their boates, that their targets were all couered with the same.

This being knowne to the king of Coching, that he was come to the Castle, he went to visit him, for that he accom-

pm. ii.

ted

The captaine generall & his men inforced to retire vnto thei<sup>r</sup> boates.



## The Conquest

ted that enterprize for a great matter, in especially the king of Calicut being there present, who had in a readinesse so greate and mightie a power, and so he saide. At the which the Captaine Generall laughed, and therewithall he tolde him that he woulde desire no moze but that the king of Calicut would once come, for that he woulde fight with him a battaile, and then woulde be apparaunt the valiantnesse of his men. They of Coching being now all quiet, as also the Captaine general hauing made vnto the principals an Oracion, he prepared his men in a readinesse for that he minded to depart to the straights of Cambalan. And in the meane while he left in the shippe xxv men with the master, which was called Diego Perrera, whom he lefte for Captaine in his absence, and also as well furnished with Ordnance and shot, that they might defend themselues the better. The names of those that tarried with him I do omit, as also those that remained in the Castle. Those that the Captaine Generall carried with him, were to the number of xxiii. men: and in one of the boats he appointed for Captaine, him that went for Captaine in the Caruell Santa Maria, whiles she was a rigging, with xxii. men. The captaine Generall went in another boate, in the which with himselfe there were one and twentie men. Amongst them all their number was lxiii. men, who all both those that were in the Caruell, and those that were in the boats, being all confessed, and hauing receiued the Sacrament, the Captaine Generall departed to the straights of Cambalan, on the Fryday before Palmes Sunday, being the xvi. of Aprill, 1504. Thus departing with great pleasure, and with shooting of their Ordnance, leaping, and daunting, when they came ouer against Coching, the Generall landed to talke with the king, which was tarrieng for his coming by the water side, so heauie and so sadde, that he coulde not hide the same. The Captaine Generall making as though he vnderstood nothing of it, said vnto him: that there they were all ready with great pleasure and good will, so depart toward the passage, to defend him from the king of Calicut,

1504

These words the Captaine Generall speake vnto the king at his departure towards the passage.

licut, whom they went to see out, that he shoulde vnderstand that they had no feare of him. The king smiled at these wordes, as it were suspecting his good successe. Notwithstanding, he appointed him 500. Paires (of five thousande which he had in armes) of the which he named for Captaines, Gandagora, and Frangera, which were ouerseers of his householde, and Caymal de Palurta, to whome hee gaue commaundement that they should obey the Captaine generall as his owne person. This being done, the king stode and viewed all our flete, who at that time shewed him selfe to be very heauie, to see how few we were in comparison of the great power of the king of Calicut, and vpon the same tooke occasion to speake vnto the Captaine Generall, saying.

**T**here was represent vnto him the great danger which he feared might happen vnto him, and that which chanced to himselfe this last yeare. And therefore doe I desire thee, quoth he, to encourage thy selfe to doe that which thou art able, and not to suffer thy heart to deceiue thee, but to remember how much the king of Portingale shall lose in losing thee: and with those wordes his eyes stode full of water, which to see, the Captaine Generall was very sorie, and sayd vnto him.

That better are a few and valiant, then a great multitude and cowards. And whether (sayd hee) our men be valiant or not, your selfe haue well seene, & also how contrary wise it fareth with the enimies, your selfe likewise haue had experience. He inferred also howe in that place where hee minded to farrie for his coming, there needed but a few to defend him. And therefore he prayed him for to be content, and therewith he departed, and came to the passage of Cambalan, two houres before day, where finding no signe of the coming of the king of Calicut, he went in the meane while, and did set vpon a towne of the selfe same Ilande of the Caimalls, where in the dawning of the day he arrived in the Harbour, a long the which there was appointed, 800. Payres to keepe the same, which were Archers, and

the words  
of the king  
of Coching  
to the  
captaine  
generall.

The answer  
of the  
captaine  
generall  
made to  
the king  
of Coching.



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a felw with their Calcutters, which were there sarpyng for him. And although those with their calquers, and the residue with their arrowes, shot of at our men, in such manner that they seemed to shadow the Element, yet with the paucities of our boates, the which were made of boards of two fingers thicke, much like vnto Targets or shields, we did so defend them of, that they wer driuen to row toward the land, which was done for that those y<sup>e</sup> wer there shuld geue place, y<sup>e</sup> our men might leap a land. Then y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general comanded his ordinance to be shot of, with y<sup>e</sup> which they leapt a land: howbeit, y<sup>e</sup> enemies returned vpon them, & therin shewed theselues to be valiant, for y<sup>e</sup> space of an houre. But after ward they fled apace, & many of the in the conflict, at y<sup>e</sup> presēt wer both slain and hurt at our mens hands. But after that our men had set fire to the towne, and the same was well kindled, the captaine generall did retire, & going toward the passage, in their way they toke and killed much cattell which they carreyed with them: and although the people of the countrey did defend themselves very wel, yet our men being come to the passage of Cambalan, the Cay-mall sent to make peace with the captaine generall, with a certaine present, which he would not receiue, neither yet make peace with him, for that he was an enemy vnto the king of Coching. Whereupon the next day after, the king of Calycut sent him word that he would geue him the battell, and also that he was greatly offended that he had placed himselfe where he did minde to enter. And mozeouer, it was tolde him that they did all affirme, that the kinge of Calycut was like to geue him the ouerthrowe and to take him prisoner, or els to kill him in the battell.

Heere the  
battell  
was offered by the  
king of  
Calicut  
vnto the  
captaine  
Generall.

To the which the captaine generall answered, that the selfe same hope he had to doe by the king, the rather in honour of the daye, which was a solemne feast amongst the Christians, adding mozeouer y<sup>e</sup> his wytyches had disappointed & deceyued him much, to promise him the victorie in such a day. Then a certaine Nayre which came with this Messenger, hearing the Captaine generall say so, answered him

him, and that with a smiling countenance, as though he had mocked him, that there were very few men to doe y<sup>e</sup> which he spake of: & also y<sup>e</sup> the king of Calicut men were so many, y<sup>e</sup> they were sufficient to couer the whole earth & the water. Which if it be so, how (said he) can they be overcome. With this answer y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall was greatly offended, & soz that he was thought to be one of the king of Calicut Nayres, he borte him well, willing him to bid the kinge of Calicut reuenge the same. With the which the others that came with the message, were so greatly afraid, that they neuer durst afterward anouch the king of Calicut.

That same evening the King of Coching sent to ayde the Captaine Generall with fūe hundred Nayres, of the which he made no account, noz of the others before, soz that he knew they would all run away. In our men, next vnder God, hee had his confidence and whole truste, who all that night made greate feast, that the kinge of Calicut might vnderstande that they did not feare him, but rather shewed great forwardnes to geue him y<sup>e</sup> battell, of the which y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general was very glad. And therefoze before it was day, he spake vnto al his men in this manner. Masters and my friends, soz the great content that I doe finde in you, I doe soz most certain prognosticate the great gift y<sup>e</sup> God in his seruice wil geue vnto vs this day. And I doe beleue soz most certaine, that as God hath geue vs stomacke (being so few as we are) to dare fary & abide so many thousands of men as there are of our enemies: so he will geue vs force and strength to resist them, & herein wil shew his great power, & as it were a miracle so greate as this is, in y<sup>e</sup> exalting of his holy faith: and in his holye name I do desire you, that you wil so beleue, soz y<sup>e</sup> without this hope, although we were as many as the enemies are, and they as few as wee bee, yet all our strength were nothing, and being in this hope, all the multitude of the enemies will seme vnto vs but few to ouer come: soz they doe iudge vs to be many more then wee are, their feare is such. And this also you may beleue, that if their

The captaine generals words spoken vnto his mē.

com.



## The Conquest

„ coming as at this day with their great presumption be,  
„ for that they are many, hauing most assured hope to take vs,  
„ yet they will haue a feare from hence forth, so that theyz  
„ spirits will be broken, to let vpon vs any more, which thing  
„ if they did, it would be more for feare of the king of caly-  
„ cut, then for any good reule they haue vnto him. And there-  
„ fore I pray you remember, that with this confidence you  
„ must fight, and God shall giue you the victorie, and that  
„ with honour of all the Portingales, and a perpetuall fame  
„ amongst the straungers, and deserts before our king, that  
„ he may reward you for the same, wherby you shall the bet-  
„ ter mainteine your selues all the dayes of your life,

¶ Vnto these words they all answered, that in the bat-  
tell he shoulde well see how well they did remember his  
speech. And immediatly they fell vpon their knees and sung  
the Salve regina in tune, & afterward an Aue Maria with  
a lowde voice. At this present came Larenco Moreno from  
the Castle, who brought with him foure of his Calauer  
men, for they would needs exercise themselves in this bat-  
tell. The Captaine Generall was very glad of their com-  
ming, for that they were very valiant.

How the king of calycut gaue battaile vnto the Cap-  
taine Generall in the straights of Cambalan, and  
how he had the ouerthrow. chap. 67.

**T**his night by the perswasion of the Italian  
runagates, the king of calycut commaun-  
ded to be made a plat-forme or skonce, on  
the which there might be placed five pec-  
ces of Ordnance, the which might stand  
right ouer against wher the Captaine Ge-  
nerall was, that from thence they might shoote off their or-  
dinance, at what time they meant to giue the onset, and  
for that the straightnesse of the passage was a dan-  
ger vnto him. So on Palmes Sunday the king of Calycut  
marched forward, with xlii. thousand men, the which were

as wel of the Paires as of the Moyses: besides that he went accompanied with the king & Caimalls, which were come vnto him, to aide and succour him, not onely with their owne persons, but also with their men. That is to say, the king of Tanor with foure thousand Payres: the king of Bybur, and of curran, which is hard by the Mountaines of Narsinga, with twelue thousand Payres: the king of Cotogataco, which standeth betwene Cananor and Calicut, hard by the Mountaines, with eightene thousand Paires: The king of Curia, which is betwene Panane and Grangalor, with thre thousand Paires: Also Nabeadarin, which was Prince of Calicut and Namboa his brother, and the king of Calicut himselfe, who had a great number, which for that they were many, I doe not rehearse. The sortes of instruments that they had for the wars were so many and diuerse, that when they began to play vpon the same, it was thought that heauen and earth woulde ioyne together.

The kings and Caimalls that assit the king of Calicut against the Portingales.

ouer & besides the great multitude of the people, the which did couer the whole earth. Those that went in the vangard, as soone as they came to their setting, did giue fire to theyr ordinance, which as they lay nere to the Caruel, so it appeared partly a miracle, that there was no pice that did hurt it. Forwhele our Ordinance being shot off, did all light full amongst the enimies, and killed many of them, although it was before day, the which vntill Sunne did rise, were in discharging out of the Caruell, aboue xxx. pices.

After all this, the whole flete of the enimies beganne to come out of the riuers of Repelyn, which were 169. Hoytes, that is to say, thre score and sixe Paraos, the which hadde theyr defence of sackes of Cotten, which deuise was giuen them by the Italians, that our Ordinaunce shoulde not hurt their men.

Each of theyr boates or Paraos had two pices of Ordinaunce in them, and five and twentie men, of the which there were five in every parao that had their Calcuers, and all the rest were bolw men.

Also there were twentie of these Hoytes, all theined to-

gether,

gether,



## The conquest

gether, for to set vpon the Caruell. Also there were liue  
Captures, beside thirtie greate Barks, each of these hadde  
his peece of Ordnance, and sixtene men, which serued  
in him with sundry kindes of weapons.

Besides all these armed vessels, there went other sur-  
uished with men, which being all together, it seemed that  
the whole riuer was couered ouer, in the which Fleet were  
well nere x. thousand men, and of this fleet was Adme-  
rall Nabecadarin, and for Vice Admerall the Lord of Re-  
pelyn. Certainly to see them altogether vpon the water and  
lande, was a greate terrour, all of them being halfe na-  
ked, some of coulour blacke, and others of a darke Taw-  
nye. And vpon their weapons the Sunne did so glister,  
that they appeared as though they had bene swordes, and  
newly ground, and so lykelike did their targets, the which  
were of sundrie coulours, and shewed very gallant. And for  
that our men should stand in the more feare of them, they  
gaue out great cries and laroms. After this they beganne  
to sound vpon their instrumentes of warre, which noyse  
continued allwayes, nowe after one sorte, and then after  
another.

Our men bearing amongst such a multitude, and bee-  
ing in theyr Caruell and theyr boates, coulde scarcely be  
discerned, for with the Fleet, they occupied almost all the  
passage, by meanes of ropes they gaue the one the other,  
which ropes were wounde about with cheynes, that they  
should not cut them a sunder. And after that they hadde  
done this, commaundement was giuen, to giue fire to the  
Ordnance, with the which the vnities were retre-  
ued.

At this instant those Payres that were of Coching  
did all runne awaye, onely Grandagora and Frangora re-  
mained for that they were in the Caruell: otherwise they  
woulde haue gone as the others did, which had bene no  
matter, but that they should see how valiantly our men be-  
fended themselves in the battell, into the which they went  
in a great heate.

The  
Naires of  
Coching  
do all run  
away

The

The Ordnance went off so often, and likewise the small shot, that there was none that coulde see one another, for the smoake of the same. The Caruell and the Hoates did so haue in fire, and did so cruelly handle the enimyes at the first enteriing, that there were torne in piéces some of their Paraos, and manye of their men slaine and hurt, without any of ours hurt, or standing in any daunger thereof at all. By this time, the enimyes were come, within the throwe of a Dart. Howbeit, as they were many, and that without order, the one did hurt and hinder the other, so that they could not fight. Yet notwithstanding, the xxb. paraos that went before, did trouble our men verie much with theyr Ordnance which they had, so that they went cheined together.

Our men being wearied and hurt, and the battaile hauing endured a good while, the Captaine Generall commaunded a saker to bee shotte at them, the which till that time had not bene shot at the enimies. And after that the same was twice discharged, they all fledde, and for that they laye very thicke together, it did immediatlye sinke foure of them, and with that they were all overcome, and so they ran theyr waye. The residue of the paraos which did continue in the battaile, were eighténe sinke, and thirténe fledde awaye, the residue gaue place, in the which there were of the enimyes greate numbers slaine and hurt.

The enimies vtterly discomfited, doe run their waye.

After all this came the Wise Admerall called the Lord of Repelyn, with another Squadron, and gaue a proud onset, so did the king of Calycut giue the lyke vpon the land. This battaile was farre more belement then the first, in the which were manye more of the enimyes slaine, then before, as appeared by the water which was of the colour of bloud. Yet for all this, the Lorde of Repelyn made loyde outcries, commaunding them to laye the Caruell aborde, but for all that they durst not venture to doe it, but rather were desirous to goe theyr waye, as they also that were a land did the like.



## The conquest

It was now at this present past Euenlong, from the time the battell did first beginne, in the which were of the enemies slaine, not onely by land, but also by water. 350. men, which were knowne, besides others, the which were aboue a thousand: and of our men there were some hurt, but none slaine. And although they pellets were made of cast yron, yet they did no moze hurt, then a stone being throwne.

Howbeit, our defences were all tozne in peces, and one of our boates also, neuerthelesse, not in such sorte, but that it might bee new rigged befoze that it was night.

How the king of Calicut seeing the ill successe that hee had in the warres, did enter into counsell to leaue the same. Chap. 68.



Those kings and noble men which came to succour and aide the king of Calicut, perceiving that he was thus ouerthrowne, and that with great losse both of his men & vessells, although his power were great, and ours but very smal, & that the captain Generall neuer made any reckoning of the king of Calicut nor of his force, but for al that did ouerrun the Countrey, & destroyed it, some there were of them that made a greate wonder thereat, & sayd that our God did fight for vs, whereupon they lost all the hope they had for euer to gine vs the ouerthrowe, and from thence forth they had themselves in no reputation, but rather were very sozie that it was their euill hap to come in the aide of the king of Calicut. Those that did most repent themselves of their comming, wer subiects to the king of Coching, for that their countries were scituated along the riuers, which did put them in the moze feare of the Captaine Generall, that he wold set fire to their townes & houses, or otherwise destroye them. And for that cause, they determined to leaue the king of Calicut, & wold make no moze wars against our men, moze then that which was past already.

And

And upon this condition, they returned to the king of Co-  
ching, with whom they reconciled themselves, and those  
that did thus were, one called Marugata, Muta Caymal,  
and his brother, and Cousins, who immediately after the  
battaile, did so secretly depart from the king of Calicut  
Campe, from whence they went to the Island of Vaypin,  
to stay there, till they might see their time, as I have said.  
But when the king of Calicut had knowledge that they  
were gone, and also understoode where they were become,  
he was very sozry therefoze, which also was the occasion  
that he renewed all his grieffe, that hee had conceived for  
his ouerthrow, which he had receyued at our mens hands,  
that were so few. Whereupon he tooke occasion to rebuke  
his captaines, saying, that they were good for nothing, and  
that through their defaulte our men continued and kept  
these passages. And if so be, that they had had any shame,  
they would at this time haue dyuen them from thence, in  
especially hauing geuen so often the enterprise to passe the  
same. Then those two Italians that were presente, did  
replie vnto the king, that although our men had done most  
valiantly, yet that which they did was like vnto the dedes  
of desperate men. Notwithstanding, that they were not a-  
ble to defende themselves long, from such a power as his  
was, in especially, not hoping to haue any succour. And  
therefoze they willed him to set vpon them often times,  
for by that meanes it was possible to take them. Some  
also of those kinges and noble men that came to succoure  
the king, and that were desirous of warres, did confirme  
that which the Italians had saide befoze, addinge mozeo-  
uer, that God doth permitte his enemies sometime to haue  
the victorie, for a moze greater losse vnto them, and there-  
foze it were good saide they, that he followed his friends  
counsell, and proued their steadfastnesse. And although it  
were so, that he had not the victorie immediatlye, yet hee  
should not therefoze dispaire. The king finding himselfe  
somewhat vered in minde with those wordes, answered  
them saying, Although that eche of you is so valiant, that

The king  
of Calicut  
much bla-  
meth his  
captaines  
for being  
ouer-  
throwne  
by so few



the kings  
answer  
vnto this  
advice.

No doubt  
but God  
doeth  
fight for  
his ser-  
uants

it appeareth vnto you, a small matter to overcome those  
Christians, yet I am not so obstinate to thinke the same.  
Doubtless I suppose yet, that you doe see in me no such a  
feare, that thereby you might iudge it needefull, to streng-  
then me with those words. For what can you tell me in  
this case, that you may satisfie me withall? For if so be,  
that you will consider as much as I doe, you would some-  
know, how great an acte this is, that you doe make so lit-  
tle accompt off. I doe not take it in vs for so great a victo-  
rie in overcoming these Christians, but rather in them,  
in defending themselves from vs, as they haue done. For  
in it hath well appeared, that their God did fight for them.  
And will you see how it is so? You maye well  
consider, that our men are many, and that they haue bene  
balyant in the warres past, it hath well appeared in many  
and great battailes, wherein I haue overcome mine eni-  
mies, as you do all well know. But since they haue fought  
with these Christians, they seeme to be (not as they were)  
no more durst giue the onset vpon them, for the feare they haue  
conceiued. And certainly, as farre as I can learne, and al-  
so all those that are of a good iudgement, we ought to be-  
leeue, that those workes are rather of God, then of man.  
For who is he that would not be afeard of them, wel per-  
ceiuing that all others are? I meane not onely the king  
of Cochings subjects which came to succour vs, who haue  
repented themselves thereof, but also manye other of our  
friends, which in the beginning of these wars did also aide  
vs.

And farther, I am enformed by some, that they haue  
now offered their friendship vnto the king of Coching.  
Which thing, if it be true, it is for that they haue lost the  
hope they had of any victorie on our part, as well for that  
which is past, as also reputing how lyttle time there is  
now lefte of the Summer, and also for that in the Win-  
ter they cannot remayne anye time to continue in the  
fieldes, because of the great stormes and raine, which  
would then be,

And

And in the ende of the winter, then will there come the  
 Flæte from Portingale, which will doe vs as much harme  
 as the fleets did the last yere, and so I shall neuer bee out of  
 vnforsunate mischieses, but thus in the end I shall be vt-  
 terly destroyed. All this shall be that I shall gette, with the  
 losse of the friendship of the Christians. And it is possible  
 that for theyr causes the Pagodes will not aide nor helpe  
 me as they haue done befoze time. For although you tell  
 me, that they doe permit sometime their friendes to suffer  
 persecution for their profit, do you not thinke the same also  
 to happen for their offences, as it is well knowne this  
 both for mine. What then shall haue any further exhorta-  
 tions, to cause me to doe as you would haue me, and to suf-  
 fer persecution for my wealth, since I doe vnderstand what  
 the same meaneth; and for the pœseruing of mine estate, it  
 is requisite and needfull to haue friendshippe with the  
 Christians; it so be that you be also of the same minde,  
 for that we are all equall in the losse, and also in the  
 gaines.

God cha-  
 sticeth mē  
 sometime  
 for theye  
 trial som-  
 time for  
 their of-  
 fences.

For this talke of the kings, they were all sorrie that had  
 giuen him counsell to go forthward in these wars, since that  
 they perceined that his intent was to leaue the same, and  
 haue friendship with the Captaine Generall. These there-  
 fore would forthwith haue answered, but the Prince Na-  
 beadamm bidde preuent them, who was sorrie for these  
 warres commensed, and spake thus looking vpon them  
 all.

Since the king doth aske vs counsell what is best to be  
 done in this matter, which standeth him so much vpon,  
 I as one that most of all am grieved with this losse,  
 and most desirous of his profite, will therefore be the  
 first that shall shewe herein my minde, and what I doe  
 thinke thereof. In that which you say, that oftentimes the  
 Pagodes in the time of the persecutions that we do receiue

The Prin-  
 ces Orati-  
 on vnto  
 the King  
 & Nobles  
 assembled

will



## The Conquest

will commaunde vs to doe that which they will haue vs,  
so we ought to vnderstande them, although therefore in  
these warres it appeareth that it goeth very euill with vs,  
and in this they doe shew how much they are our friends,  
truely I doe beleue the same, the rather for that we ought  
not to belue them that would haue a matter done with-  
out reason, as it were to geue vs the victorie against those  
Christians, and power to destroy the king of Coching, vn-  
to whom we haue done very much hurt, killynge the laste  
yeare his Princes and almost all his men, setting of Co-  
ching a fire, and destroying his countrey, from whence  
we hunted him away, with his great discredite, dispossed  
him of his kingdome & subiects, so that al they for the feare  
they had of vs did leane him, yea his owne frendes forsooke  
him, & went against him, & all for our sake. And aboue all  
these euils the which he did not deserue, for y he was not in  
any fault, we would yet proceed further, utterly to destroy  
him. What hath he done? Did hee procure to take anye  
mans countrey from him? No. In friendship did he vse  
himselfe traiterously? Neither. Did he commaunde the  
Marchantes that they should not come to Calicut? Neither.  
Did he the some worse thing since he did nothing of these?  
Nothing at all. What then? For sooth for y he did receiue into  
his countrey the Christians which being driuen out of Ca-  
licut, went to seeke him out, as he was desirous to encrease  
and enpeople his Citie, and to augment hys estate and ri-  
ches: Shall we therefore destroy him being our friend, as  
an enemye? With this right doe the Pagodes helpe vs to  
take the hono<sup>r</sup>, riches and credite from the right owner: It  
cannot be so, for that they be righteous and iust, and ther-  
fore they will not help vs agaynst those Christians which  
were slayne, robbed, and thrust out of Calicut, and were  
there receined vnder safeconduct from the king, comminge  
to his parte before any others, and not geuing cause wher-  
fore they should receiue so many iniuries. If wee doe it  
for that they laide hande vpon a shippe of the Moores,  
there is no reason why, for that the kinge commaunded  
them

them to stay the same: And if he had ben advised by al men  
as he was by me, the Mozes should haue paid for that they  
had done & that very well, for & if they had ben punished, it  
wold wel haue appered, y the king had ben in no fault of y  
which they had done. And this had bene sufficient to haue  
confirmed the friendship of the Christians with him, & this  
also wold haue bene a cause sufficient, to haue kept them  
in Calicut from going to Coching, to haue there setteled a  
trade, whom the king through euill counsell hath tranay-  
led so much to take them, as though they were theues that  
had robbed him of his owne, they being so good, so gentle,  
so valiant as we see, and besides so gratefull of the bene-  
fite they doe receiue. For the receiuing of them as y King  
of Mylnde did, they gaue ouer two ships laden with gold,  
the which they had taken from a Cousin of his. If these  
men were Theues, as the Mozes doe say they are, those  
were prizes not to be left. You know how rich a Present  
they brought to the King, and what rich merchandise they  
brought, and how much golde and silver. Those fishermen  
which they did carrie away naked, did retourne againe all  
apparailed. If then we were friends, how surely should we  
liue: & what profit should the King haue, if we had amitie  
with them. I do not speak of y ship y carried y Elephants  
which was giuen him: when all y prizes did passe by these  
theues hands, the which they left. These were seruices to  
be thankfully receiued, giuing occasion to vs to gratifie the  
in like sort, and to be glad to haue them for our friends, &  
since we did put them away when they had neede of vs,  
now that we haue neede of them, let it not be thought euill,  
to conclude a peace with them, for that the wars we make  
against them, we make the same against our selues. They  
are vpon the Sea of more power then we are, as you may  
well see the same by the long time they haue defended this  
passage, and with what power of men, and also what de-  
struction they haue brought vpon vs, and are like to doe,  
since that our Countrey lyeth nere to the water side, and  
that with our owne losse, we haue well sene the truth.

Amongst  
other ver-  
tues grate-  
fulnes com-  
mended.

Do.

There.



## The Conquest

12 Therefore let it go no further, but let vs seeke some remedie  
 13 to haue a peace concluded amongst vs: for if we haue not, y  
 14 port or harbour of Calicut wil be utterly vndone, & the king  
 15 wil be like to lose all his rents. This doth concerne him  
 16 more then al y friendship of y Moors, which haue no other  
 17 respect but only to their owne profit, & not to the kings, &  
 18 these be they that do giue counsell to make these warres.

How the counsell of the prince Nabeadarin was gainesaid, & how  
 a certain Moore of Calicut did inuent the making of certain castles  
 of timber, vith the which they might lay the caruels aboard. ca. 69

The king of Calicut all this while gaue great eare to  
 y which y prince his brother had said, & immediatly  
 answered y he was in y fault, as touching y which  
 was past, & had repented himselte to haue taken y  
 enterprize in hand. And therfore he desired them al, to enter  
 into counsell with his brother, & to take some good order for  
 y concluding of peace w<sup>th</sup> vs: which was not wel thought of by  
 y Lord of Repelin, for y he was confederate with y Moors  
 to hinder y same, & after y the king had ended his talke, he  
 spake in this manner following. According as y Malabars  
 are constant, so I do well beleue, y fro hence forth they wil  
 not haue thee in any reputation, if thou shuldest do as thou  
 saist, for y they would impute y same rather to cowardnes,  
 then to any reuelatio<sup>n</sup> or forewarning of y Pagodes. This is  
 a matter not wel to be thought of, much lesse the to be spoke  
 of amongst persons of hono<sup>r</sup> as here are, & with so great a  
 power, with hope of many more if there were need: for al y  
 noble men of y Malabars are redy for y same, hauing great  
 confidence in thy valiantnesse, & therfore did chuse thee to be  
 head of this war. And now, wilt thou leaue y same without  
 receiving any hurt in thy person, with y which thou might  
 test excuse the same, not to die in thy demaund. But retur-  
 ning whole, & with many of thine whole, what wil they say  
 but y for y feare of so few strangers thou givest ouer y thou  
 hast begun w<sup>th</sup> so great a heat, & that thou runnest away not  
 being overcome? With this thou shalt lose thy credit y thou  
 haddest with all men, which since it is so, were thou not bet-  
 ter die, then to liue dishonored? I marvel much y the prince  
 did

The Lord  
 of Repelin  
 answered  
 the prince  
 in the coun-  
 cil house.

did not consider this, which is y<sup>e</sup> principal matter y<sup>e</sup> he should  
make rekonning of, as one y<sup>e</sup> both extreme thine honor, & y<sup>e</sup> do  
also esteeme y<sup>e</sup> same, do not counceyl y<sup>e</sup> king to giue ouer the  
wars, although I should see y<sup>e</sup> Pagodes comānd thee, for ra-  
ther death is to be wished, then such obedience. So forwarde  
therfore in these wars, for so y<sup>e</sup> Pagodes wold haue thee do,  
& do not contrary vnto this aduise. The Moores y<sup>e</sup> wer pre-  
sent hearing al this talk, which was to their content, did fur-  
ther y<sup>e</sup> same as much as in the lay, setting forward y<sup>e</sup> king,  
praising him to be inuincible, laieng befoze him y<sup>e</sup> insamy he  
shuld incur, if he did leaue y<sup>e</sup> wars: they offred him moze co-  
uer their persons & goods towards y<sup>e</sup> same, alleadging y<sup>e</sup> in-  
creasing of his rents with their trade, plenty of victuals in  
his city with their being there, declaring also y<sup>e</sup> old friend-  
ship they haue had with him, & how they were become na-  
turall inhabitants of his country, with many other things,  
vnto y<sup>e</sup> which y<sup>e</sup> king wold not answer, neither yet his bro-  
ther, for y<sup>e</sup> al those kings & Lords did help y<sup>e</sup> Moores aduise,  
& so it was concluded y<sup>e</sup> the wars shuld go forward. And for  
y<sup>e</sup> it had gone with y<sup>e</sup> king so enill in y<sup>e</sup> sword, they found a  
new inuention to lay the caruels a board, which a certeine  
Moore of Repelin made called Cogea, who had ben a tra-  
uailer, & scene sundry inuentions deuised. And for y<sup>e</sup> cause ha-  
uing a pregnant wit, he inuēted a castle to be made of tim-  
ber, built vpon two boats or lighters, placing two beames  
crossewise ouer y<sup>e</sup> forepart of the said boats, & the sterne or  
pope of y<sup>e</sup> boats to be as broad as y<sup>e</sup> castle long, y<sup>e</sup> which ca-  
stle was made square, & vpon those beams were other pla-  
ced, so high as a chamber from a hall, & in euery square were  
quarters of timber thick set together, of y<sup>e</sup> height of a lance,  
or little lesse, mortaled in y<sup>e</sup> said beams, & nailed with great  
yron nails, & in y<sup>e</sup> bodies of y<sup>e</sup> quarters of timber wer holes  
made, thzough y<sup>e</sup> which went bars of yron. so y<sup>e</sup> to fight the  
castle seemed a strong thing. In this castle might 40. men  
be wel placed, besides certein pæces of ordinance, so that in  
this wise this castle might passe y<sup>e</sup> riuers, & w<sup>th</sup> grapnels ioyn  
w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> caruels, which being dōe y<sup>e</sup> king desired y<sup>e</sup> sight therof, &  
whē he had seen y<sup>e</sup> same, did not only praise his wit, but also

The dissi-  
muling  
vvords of  
y<sup>e</sup> Moores  
to y<sup>e</sup> king.



## The Conquest

rewarded him very largely, and by the same paterne commaunded other leauen to be made, that vpon them the Caruells might dispend their times, & occupie themselves, thinking that euen so it would be.

Of the great alteration there was in Coching, about these Castles, and what pollicie the Captaine found to defend the Caruell from them,  
Chap. 70.

**I**mmediatly after, was the Captaine generall aduertised by espies that he had sent of these castles, and that the enemies were also making in readinesse certain firewozkes, & therewith they might burne & caruells, & if they could not burne & same, & then with these castles, they might lay the said Cartuel aboard: As sone as the dwellers & inhabitants of Coching heard of these castles, they were therewith grealy afeard, least & the enemies would take Coching, & with that did make themselves in a redinesse to flie from thence, for the which the king of Coching was very sad, supposing & indeed with these Castles, his enemies wold take his country from him. After this, certaine of the inhabitants of Coching went to & Captaine generall, to aske him whether he was able with his caruells to defend himselfe from these castles. Wherevpon the Captaine answered & alkt of them, wherefore they demanded & question, seeing & they did well know, that from a greater power then this, he had made them flie with broken heads, & so he doubted not, but he would doe againe. With this answer, & inhabitants of Coching were fully satisfied, & so minded not to remoue themselves from thence, vntill such time the battell were fought. The Captaine general for to encourage them the more, commaunded besore them all to pitch a long staffe in the ground, the which was made shap at & one end. The same amongst the Malabars is called Caluete, vpon & which they do execute iustice of death: vnto the

A Caluete, and what the meaning thereof is.

poorest or vilest people of the country: insomuch that if they say to a *Patre, Naire Caluete*, they take the same for a greater reproch then any other. This Caluete being pitched on this sort, the Captaine generall did then sweare, to spit vpon the same the king of Calicut, if so be that he did fight with him, & so forthwith he commaunded in dispraise of the king of Calicut, that all his men should say with a lowd voice, *Sammurin Caluete*. At this sight the inhabitants mervailed to see the stoutnesse of the Captaine, & so minded to remaine & keep the towne. But for all this, the Captaine Generall was inwardly moued in spirit, for feare that indeed they wold lay his caruels a board, & that for lacke of men. Howbeit that better to defend them from the same, he commanded to be made a certaine Canislo, which was made w<sup>th</sup> certaine masts of ships, ioyned the one to the other, & bound with great bolts and hoops of yron. These masts wer of eight fathom of length, & as many of breadth, & were placed from the Caruels a good stoncs throw. And for that the ebb nor yet the flood should carry the same away, ther wer laid out fire great ankors, three of them vpon the flood, & the other vpon the eb, which made the same the surer. And for that the Caruels should remaine so high as the castles, one Peter Ral considering these deuises, deuised also to encounter with the height of those castles, to make certaine turrets of halfe masts, which were set vp right, and made fast a board the caruell, in the which turrets seuen or eight men might fight at pleasure in each of them. This being done, one morning before day ther came to visit the Captaine general the king of Coching, of whose coming the Captaine was very glad, for that he had heard how fearful he was, & therefore he gaue him a good countenance, yet for all this, the king could dissemble no longer, but presently his eyes did run downe with water, & with that he embraced the Captaine general, & commanded those noble men which came with him to do the like, which was done with so sorrowfull a countenance, as though it were the last time that they should meet. Afterward the king did apart himself with the captaine & some of our men, & as a man out of his wits, said vnto him.



## The Conquest

The king  
of Co-  
ching  
vvordsto  
the Cap-  
taine ge-  
nerall,

The King of Calycut hath a great power, and we are but few, and that without any hope that I haue to defend Coching, or any of my people, who besides are ready to runne away if thou be overcome. And since that I am vndone, I request thee, that thou doe prouide for thine owne safetie, whilst thou hast time, for that afterwards, I doubt thou shalt not haue the same: and therewith, as though he were stopped in the throte, he spake no more.

The aun-  
swer that  
the cap-  
tain gene-  
rall made  
to the  
King of  
Coching.

The Captaine generall shewing himselfe to be angrye with this speech, aunswered him somewhat with cholar, asking him what weaknesse or cowardnesse he had seene in him, that he should will him to prouide for his safetie? And further said, that there or in what place soeuer he was, he was most assured to defend himselfe from the King of Calicut, and also doubted not but to giue him the ouerthrow,

„ notwithstanding the great power he brought. And diddest  
„ not thou tell me (quod he) all these times past, that God did  
„ fight for the Portugales, but now how dost thou doubt of  
„ the same? I haue a hope in God, that to morow thou shalt  
„ see the King of Calycut put in that Caluete, and of this I  
„ doe not doubt, if he doe tarry me, neither yet thou oughtest  
„ to haue any doubt, if thou wouldest thinke vpon the victo-  
„ ries that God hath giuen me so oftentimes, the King of Ca-  
„ lycut hauing the same aduantage that now he hath. This  
„ thou oughtest to beleue, and not that which the Pories of  
„ Coching do tell thee, for y they all doe not loue vs, neither  
„ yet the alteration of the Payres should make thee apalde,  
„ which are asfeard of euery puffle of winde. Repent thy selfe  
„ therefore of that thou hast told me, and dispaire not, but re-  
„ turne with good courage to Coching, and there also to com-  
„ fort and harten thy people, shew thy selfe strengthened, &  
„ stay thy subiects from going away, and let me alone with  
„ this Passage, for I will giue thee a good accompt thereof.

„ The King minding not to encrease his cholar, did shew himselfe recomforted with his words and comfortable answers, trusting that we would defend the Passage, according to the valyaunt mindes he had founde in vs, and in

our

our Captaine generall : which he did affirme without any doubt of the defence thereof. The Payres, and all the people of Coching, vpon their alteration and determination, they made for their departing, believing yet that our men should be ouerthrowen, did thereupon prouoke the Payres to runne away, but yet neuerthelesse they would not.

¶ How the King of Calycut did giue the Battaile vnto the Captaine generall with his castells, & how they were all ouerthrowen. cap. 71.



**T**he King of coching being departed, the Captaine generall went to his Carnell, shewing him selfe griued greatly, to see the King so faint hearted, the which might be the occasion that Coching might be dishabited, which he feared very much : and being desirous to suppe with his men, thether came Lorenzo Moreno, with those of the Factorie, with whom he was accustomed to come, for (as I haue said) there was neuer any found in the battel of our men, that the enemies could overcome : The Supper being done, they went to rest themselves till midnight, and being confessed and absolved by the Vicar, the Captaine generall said vnto them.

**M**asters and my friends, I am very merie & glad that you doe remember the principall thing, which is your soules, for that I doe well knowe, that with this remembrance God will haue vs in his high & glorious memorie, to giue vs the victorie against our enemies, not onely for the satisfaction of our troubles, but also for the increasing of his holy and Catholike faith and that the King of Coching and his people might vnderstand, that our God is a true God, and mightie aboue all mighties, and that he doeth not sayle those which doe put theyr confidence and trust in his name. As for the King of Coching, you did well see him yesterdaie howe sadde and heauie and

The Captaine generall Orati on to his company



## The Conquest

„ and without hope he went away distraining in the victo-  
 „ ry, which God I doubt not hath promised vs, making sure  
 „ account, that we were all lost, and utterly cast away; yet  
 „ swading me withall, that I shuld in time prouide for mine  
 „ owne safetie. Surely I did neuer finde in him so much  
 „ feare, nor yet so great cowardnesse, the occasion therof was,  
 „ that they heard that the power of the king of Calicut was  
 „ much greater then it was before. And although it were so  
 „ great as they doe thinke, yet farre greater without al com-  
 „ parison is our God; and that haue you well seene in the  
 „ helps past that he hath sent vs, and euen so now do I hope  
 „ that he will likewise helpe vs and send vs the victorie.  
 „ And with this hope let vs assuredly trust to overcome the  
 „ enimyes, for he will maintaine the honour that we haue  
 „ gotten, and from hence forth will so encrease the same, that  
 „ we shoulde remaine in this worlde for lightes of valiaunt  
 „ men; and for the same be so feared in the Indias, that nei-  
 „ ther the king of Calicut nor any else will dare set vpon vs  
 „ and the honour being gotten, we shall be assured of rest for  
 „ the troubles we haue had.

M<sup>e</sup> make  
 warres to  
 the intēt  
 to liue in  
 peace.

As he had ended they sayd all, that without the victorie  
 they would not liue. And at this time which was two  
 houres after midnight, some of the Ordnance of the fleet  
 of the king of Calicut beganne to discharge, making theyr  
 way towards the Captaine Generall: and the king him-  
 selfe went by land, being accompanied with more then thir-  
 tie thousand men, with his field peeces, as his vse was, and  
 with great hope y<sup>e</sup> he shoulde giue vs the ouerthrow, & with  
 this double pride, much more then he euer had, he came for-  
 ward. The Lord of Repelyn marched before with certeine  
 men that shoulde make rampyres of earth in the point of  
 Arrul, for a defence for our enimyes in the battell.  
 He brought with him great noises & cries, with great plea-  
 sure and dauncing, the which the Captaine generall didde  
 heare, and went verie secretly a lande, and placed himselfe  
 in the very point where the enimies shuld come, the which  
 he

he did defend that the enimies should not make there any rampyers, about the which our men killed some of them. This being knowne to the king of Calicut, that the Captaine Generall came thether to mete with him, he commaunded his souldiers with a stout stomacke to set vppon him and take him aliue, the better to reuenge himselfe on him at his pleasure. About this there was a great skirmish and many of the enimies were slaine without taking of the Captaine Generall, neither yet could they make theyz rampiers. As the morning came on which was the Ascension day, the other Flæte did appeare, & which was not far off, and by this, the Captaine generall was retired vnto his boates, but it was with great trouble, because of the great multitude of the enimies which came vpon him: howbeit he imbarcked both himselfe and his men without lacking any of them, but there were of the enimies many slaine and hurt. The point being now clære & vnfurnished, the enimies came and placed themselues there, and then they began to shote off their Ordnance at vs, to the which wee did aunswere with ours, doing them great hurt therewith, for that all our shot went amongst the enimies, where they lay open, and our men were well fenced, therefore their Ordnance could doe vs no hurt. The king of Calicut seeing this, sent word to his Flæte that they should rowe a pace, and come to helpe and deliuer him from the daunger and feare that our men did put him in. The Flæte being come, it was a fearefull sight to beholde them, for that there was driuen befoze them certeine rasses, the which went alwaies burning, with intent to set the Caruells on fire, and after them an hundred and ten Paraos full of men & Ordnance, & many of them cheined together, and after them a hundred Catures in the same manner, and foure score Tonis de coxia ancha, and in each of them thirtie men, besides theyz Ordnance, and the eight castles in keeping of these, the which stowe hard by the point, for that the ebbe was not as yet altogether entered. The enimies came with great clamor, making great laromes and cries, and plaieng vpon instruments,

The king of Calicut being in danger sendeth for succor to & rest of his fleet.



## The conquest

ments accounting vs as overcome already, and with this, they shot off so many peeces of Ordnance as it was wonderfull to see, and with their sagots which they brought before them burning, they drew very nere to the Canizo, which was placed before the Caruells, and therefore they could not come to set the Caruells a fire, neither any other of all the Fleet. Wherefore, all those that went before, did loyne with the Canizo, and therewith did giue vs battaile, & without all doubt they had closed with vs at this time, if this defence had not bene. In this sodaine fight which was very great, the battel indured a good while, vntill such time the ebbe came on, and at this time the enimies received great hurt, not onely in their Fregates that were torne in peeces and sunke, but also many of their men that were slaine and hurte. The Ebbe being come, the Paraos with their Castles did put off from the poynt, and to the ende they should goe the swifter, they were rowed with boats. These came right towards the Caruells, and in the greatest of them all went fortie fighting men, and in the other of the middle sort in each of them fife and thirtie, and in the lesser sort thirtie men. All these were bowmen & shot, and besides that they did carrie Ordnance, and stode all abroad, which did shewe so terrible and monstrous a front, as was fearful to be seene, the rather being so great a fleet, in comparison of our small power to defend them, we having but two Caruells & two boats. But this was y day wherein God did well shew, the great regard he had to preserve vs, for that neither the sight of so many men, and so many sorts of wayes whereby they had compassed and beset vs, neither yet such a fleet, that was so great and mightye, with the fearefull cries that the Enimies did make, nor the terrible thundering of the Ordnance, could any wayes discourage or make vs asfeard. The greater of the Castles being come hard to this defence, did then shote off all his ordnance at the Caruells, & the Captaine generall commaunded to shote at the same with a Saker, the which caused the said Castle to stand wanering, but yet did them

them little harme, neither yet with another p[ar]ce that they shot off forthwith, with the which Captaine generall was so sad, that he lifted by his eyes vnto heauen, saying: Lord, doe not retourne my sinnes to my face at this time, and this he said with such a loude voyce, that some there were that heard the same. In the meane while came the other Paraos, which did set themselues right equal with the first, & with the comming of these, the battell did increase more and more very stoutly on all parts. Their arrowes came so thicke, which made so great a shadow, that sometimes ther appeared neither heauen nor earth, with y great smoke of their Ordnance. The Captaine generall did tourne, and commaund to shote at the great Castle the Saker againe, & as with y other shot past, they had somewhat shaken their p[er]son works which were not very strong, so with the same shot they presently brake, & after y the p[er]son works were thus broken, some of their beams being likewise carried away, with certeine of their men slaine, with y same our men gaue a great cry, & the Captaine general falling down on his knees, gaue God great thanks, & returning to shoot the Saker againe, did carrie away another row of beams, with many more slaine and hurt, and the Ordnance being shotte off againe, it was all tozne in p[ar]ces in a small space, and so the enemies went with their Castle further of, but the others remayned there fighting very stoutly. And after this, both parts endured more trouble all the day following, then in all the battells that were past: but in the ende, we did so much hurt vnto their Castles, and sunke and rent so many of their Paraos in p[ar]ces, y the enemies could not abide the same, & therfore they shrank thence. The fight did endure till euensong time, & began in y morning: of the enemies wer many slaine, as afterward was seene in y water, & of vs none, nor any hurt, but only bruised with a shot which went thzough y Admiral, y bullet went among many that were there, but they received no harme.

The prayer of a distressed minde in the bitterness of heart.

The Captaine generall seeing the enemies went their waye, followed them in their Boates, and such paraos



## The conquest

as he had, shooting alwayes at those that were vppon the point Arraol, with the king, and with the force of their Ordnance made them runne away, leauing behinde them slaine three hundred and thirtie men. This being done, he then returned to his Caruells, where that euening came to visit him the Prince of Coching in the bebalfe of the king, who sent to excuse himselfe that he could not come to visit him in his owne person. But he sent him againe word, that he wold receiue no discharge, vntill such time he knew his heuines was past, but praised him frō hence forth to beleue better in God, for that the daungerous daye of the Castles was past, and he remained in the passage as he did befoze, all safe, and in readinesse to serue him. The selfe same daie came to visit him certeine noble men, of those that were of the king of Cochings side, with whome there was made great triumph for this victorie: and likewise there went to see him many Mozes Merchants which brought him great presents, supposing to get of him thereby great friendship. He receiued them very gently, praising them to be true subjects to the king of Coching, for thereby they should finde him assured at any time whensoever he might stand them in any steele, wherebpon they faithfully promised so to do, & to binde them the more, he made them very great chere. Also the next day in the morning the king of Coching came to visit him, who embraced him with as great gladnesse as could be deuised, saying that he did wel performe y<sup>e</sup> which he had promised, in giuing the king of Calycut the overthrowe. But vnto this he answered, that he had not performed all his promise, since that he did not put him on the Caluete, but he was not in fault thereof, for that the king kept himselfe alwayes farre from him. He declared also to the king diuerse other matters of pleasure, which the king answered in like manner, praising very much his valiantnes, & that he had wel sene y<sup>e</sup> God did fight for vs, asking of him forgiveness for y<sup>e</sup> distrust he had in him, & how greatly he was bound to succour him, declaring also that the affaires of Portugale were very great, and confessing lyke-  
wise

wise that he through his worthinesse had made him king. After this victorie the inhabitants of Coching did cast off the feare they had of the king of Calycut, in such sort, that neuer from thence forth they stode in anye dread of him, neither yet made account of his habilitie.

Of the counsell which the king of Calycut tooke of his brother, and how hee was gaine-saide: and also by what pollicie & meanes the king of Calycut sought to kill the Captaine generall. Chap. 72.



**T**HE king remained greatly ashamed and very sad, for that at the same time he could not ouerthrowe the Captaine Generall, the rather because he neuer accounted any thing more certeine, then to ouer come him in that conflict, because of the Castles which he had prepared for his confusion. And now leauing a side all hope euer to haue the victorie, he desired to haue with vs no more warres, and therefore he called before him into his tents, all those kings and noble men that came to helpe him, and sayd thus vnto them.

**Y**ET doe well see how little our power profiteth vs against these men, and how little our pollicies preuaileth. Since they doe not regard vs, and would neuer giue over the passage, notwithstanding the greate power we had against them. The like account also they make of vs in their feasts, and pastimes when we goe against them, as though we were the fewer, and they the more, and as though the land which they are in were theirs, & we were the Christians, whereby it appeareth, they alwayes make account of the victorie for certeine, which either they obtaine by witchcrafts, or else their God doth fight for them, which cannot be otherwise, considering the great victories they haue had

The king of Calicut's oration vnto his noble men.



## The Conquest

„ against vs, and the greate hurt that we haue receiued of  
 „ them. Wherefore I suppose that God would it should be so,  
 „ for the litle iustice y is obserued in these wars, as hath wel  
 „ appered in the beginning of the same. And if I had ben wel  
 „ aduised, it shuld not haue gone so farre forwarde, but in the  
 „ end I am in the fault, and not they, and since it is so, we  
 „ haue therein no right cause, neither canne gette any thing  
 „ by our strength. Let vs therfore giue it ouer, & desire no moze  
 „ to haue Cochung, for that God doth fauour these men, since  
 „ wel you see, there is no power in the Indias that can offend  
 „ vs so long, we being so strong, but these dogs, of whom I  
 „ am afraid, y they will subdue the Indias, according to the  
 „ acts that they haue done, and the credit that they haue got-  
 „ ten, especially in Malabar. And that this mishap may go no  
 „ further, I thinke it shoulde be conuenient to procure theyz  
 „ friendship, & also it is time to get vs away, for y the winter  
 „ cometh on, & the riuers doe increase, & these men do ouer-  
 „ run all: and this is certeine, y if the wars indure, they will  
 „ come hether & inforce vs to depart with our losse & disho-  
 „ nor. Now y first that he asked counsell of what was neces-  
 „ sary to be done, was his brother Nabeadarin, who being an-  
 „ gry with the king that he wold neuer follow his counsel, &  
 „ leaue the warres, saide: that now he knewe to his cost  
 „ what he had told him of vs: & since in time he woulde not  
 „ know it, he asked him what it shuld now profit him for his  
 „ honour and credit, since y then when opportunitie serued he  
 „ refused his counsell, but now he willed him to do what he  
 „ shuld thinke good, for he could not do amisse. The king be-  
 „ ing somewhat broken of his pride, (calling him brother) saide  
 „ that now there was no time to aunswere him after such  
 „ sort, but to tell him his opinion what he thought best. The  
 „ prince answered y we were venturous, & alwaies remained  
 „ so assured of the victorie, vpon our experienced strength and  
 „ good fortune, albeit our power were much lesse, so y he great-  
 „ ly doubted we would none of his friendship. And for thee to  
 „ offer y same, saide he to y king, & they to refuse it, wold be no  
 „ lesse dishonour vnto thee, then the often overthrowes y thou  
 „ hast

The coun-  
 sell that  
 the king  
 of Cali-  
 cuts bro-  
 ther gaue  
 him touch

hast receiued. And since by thy profered friendship, we can- ing the  
not get so much as we should lole if they refuse y<sup>e</sup> same, it making  
were best therefore not to procure it, but to defer it, & make of peace  
peace with the Captaine general that commeth y<sup>e</sup> next yere with the  
from Portingale, who considering howe little the wars captaine  
will profit him, & not being assured of good successe therein, generall,  
will be the gladder to make peace with thee, & therefore that  
it may not be thought that we run awaye for seare, let vs  
stay & not depart, vntill such time it shuld be thought, that y<sup>e</sup>  
necessitie of the winter did inforce vs hence, & then may we  
wel talke of peace, when possible the Captaine general wil  
willingly accept the same, doubting that his good fortune  
may chaunge. And to prouoke & giue orcasion the rather to  
haue his friendship, let vs giue him no moze battels in the  
meane time, since it serueth to no purpose, but to the great  
losse and confusion of our men.

This counsell of Nabeadarin was reproued by the  
kings and noble men which were there then assembled, &  
especially of the Lord of Repelyn, which said that the king  
ought not to goe awaye, neither for the greatnesse of the  
winter that should come, nor yet for the losse of his men,  
but rather to continue, giuing vs manye battailes, vntill  
such time he did take vs, and not onely procured the de-  
struction of vs in Coching, but also of those that were in  
Cananor and Coulan. And that immediarly it were expedi-  
ent they sent men of credit with letters to affirme, that they  
had boarded our Caruells with their Castles, and had also  
slaine vs all, and taken our sayd Caruells, and therefore  
that they should kill all those that were there, as they had  
promised. To the same effect therefore the king did write  
immediatly and the Mozes also, but there was no credite  
giuen to the same, for that there was other newes sent  
before, and therefore the last was taken for false. Neuer-  
thelesse for all that, by the industry of the Mozes the which  
did dwel in those two towne, our men were in great dan-  
ger, and durst not come out of they<sup>r</sup> factories, and in  
Coulan there was one slaine, but in the other places none,

A subtile  
deuice by  
meanes of  
a lye to  
haue  
brought  
our me to  
destructio  
but it toke  
no effect

for



## The Conquest

for afterward messengers were sent from Calicut to the Gentiles, that our men were alive, and what we had done. For which cause the king of Calicut was answered that they would not kill our men, untill such time the Captaine Generall was taken, and that he had first given him the overthrow, which being done, they would conclude with him. This being come to the knowledge of the Lord of Repelyn, both he and the Moors did perswade the king to fight another battell with the Captaine Generall, the which he would willingly not have done, for that he was wearied in his spirit, but he could not withstand them, and therefore commaunded the same to be given both by Sea and lande. But in it he had lyke successe as before, so that more throught the importunate desire of the Moors then of his owne will, he gave in his owne person another battell with his Castles, with many more men and vessels then in the other before. This battell endured longer then the other, in which also the enemies were overcome, and received farre greater losse then ever they did before. With this victorie that we had gotten, the inhabitants of Coching remained sure from all their enemies, and so likewise did the king, whom afterward came to visite the Captaine generall, being brought in a chaire, with farre greater estate then ever he came before, since the first beginning of all the warres. This being knowne in the campe of the enemies, the kings and noble men that were with the king of Calicut, took occasion to say unto him that he shoulde not consent, in especially having such a greate power as he hadde there present, that the king of Coching should have him in so small reputation, as thereby to iudge himselfe free from him, & out of his danger. To the which the king of Calicut made answer, y<sup>e</sup> the king of Coching had great reason to do that which he had done, in especially knowing his greate power and camp, and yet perceiuing that he could not give him the overthrow. And since that his euill fortune was such, he desired them not to wish him to go forward in these wars, for that he knewe well and was fully perswaded,

An answer  
syvere  
vvhich  
king of  
Calicut  
made vn-  
to certein  
noble me

ded, that continuing the same, he should alwayes receive the losse, and run daily into greater danger, as by the feare thereof it was apparaunt. And therefore he requested them all to let him alone by himselfe, who so being, did imagine againe what course he might best take to reuenge himselfe.

And after that he came aboard, he called for certaine of his payres, in whom he had reposed all his trust, commanding them to go to Coching with some dissimulation, and there to trauaile all that they could to kill the Captaine general, and all such of our men as they could meete withall. And as the payres are men inconstant, and cannot keepe counsell longer then they are bethinking themselves therof, therfore immediately their intent was knowne to the Captaine general, who from thence forthward had a better regard to himselfe, and vnto the rest of his companie then he had before. And the better to take those payres which came as spies thither, he appointed therunto two companies of payres of Coching, commanding the one to keepe diligently along the coast, and the other along the river, who watched by quarters both by day and night. Whilist this diligence was vled, the Captaine Generall had knowledge that this spy was a payre of Coching, and of the house or flocke of the Leeros, who had attendant vpon him certaine payres that were strangers, which appeared to be lyke those of Calicut.

Nowe hauing certaine knowlege hereof, he so handled the matter, and in such order, that forthwith hee tooke them all prisoners, and being brought before him, he commaunded them to be cruelly whipped in the presence of those payres of Coching, and afterwarde to be hanged. The inhabitauntes of coching seeing this, requested the Captaine Generall to giue them some other punishment since that they were payres, and not to shewe them so great extremitie, but notwithstanding hee wold not graunt vnto anye other punishment, for that they had deserued the same.

Ag.

Then



## The Conquest

The Orati  
on of cer-  
taine cap-  
tains vnto  
their gene-  
rall for his  
better ad-  
uise in ad-  
ministrati-  
on of iu-  
stice.

Then all his Captaines sayde vnto him, that first and before all he should call to remembrance, the greates troubles that the king of Coching hadde sustained for the onely maintaining of them, and also howe much it would grieue him to heare saye, that such were hanged in his Countrey without his consent.

Also, if would giue an occasion for such noble men as were with him, to saye that he is a king but for a while, since that his iurisdiction is now taken from him.

And forasmuch as hethereto he had vsed him alwayes with reuerence, they wished that now at the ende he would haue him in a greater estimation then euer he hadde before.

The Captaine Generall hauing considered they reasons, did allowe of they good counsell herein, and caused thoseaires to be sent for, that were gone to execution, of the which there were two halfe dead, but those that were liuing, he sent to the king of Coching, aduertising him how that they hadde deserved death, and also the cause why he hadde not commaunded them to be hanged.

The king hearing this, toke the same in greates honour and estimation, that they were sent him, and especiall for that there were present sundrye of the noble men of his Countrey, and of other places, yea, and Mores also, of the chiefest that dwelt in Coching, which did not lette to saye vnto the king to asurunt him withall, that our men were they that commaunded and did not obeye.

But from hence forth the Captaine Generall hadde such intelligence, that the subtil dealinges of the king of Calicut, toke very small effect against him.

How

How the king of Calicut of pure heaviness for the ill  
successe he had in the warres, did put him-  
selfe into a Forcull, and within a small time  
after came forth therof. chap. 73.



The being now ended, and the winter be-  
ginning to increase, the Captaine generall  
thought that it woulde be some cause that  
the king of Calicut would not tarrie there  
long. And therefore he was fully minded to  
set upon him at the remouing of his camp,  
for that by experience he knew the small valour of his en-  
mies, by such victories as he had gotten in times past, which  
did therefore animate him the more thereunto, thinking  
that at such a time he might doe him much harme. And be-  
ing in a readinesse to vncheine his shallopes, he was present-  
ly informed that the king of Calicut was reforming a new  
his Castles, and preparing in a readinesse a greater flecte  
then euer he had before, that he might give him there  
with once more the battaile. This was but a fleeing  
newes that was commaunded to be giuen out by the  
king of Calicut, who did surmise that at the raising of  
his Campe, which he was minded to doe, and to goe  
his waye, the Captaine Generall woulde sette vpon  
him.

And therefore he determined, that his departure shoulde  
be so secretly done, that no man shoulde knowe there-  
of but onely Nabecadarim. For this cause therefore  
he gaue out, that he woulde give the battaile in the pas-  
sage of Palurte, and also in the flecte both together, to  
the ende the Captaine Generall might occupie himselfe  
in defending them both, and he himselfe the better  
steale awaye, as he hadde: but he gotte nothing there-  
by, more then he hadde gotten before.

A false alar-  
me giue  
forth by  
Calicuti-  
ans to ter-  
rifie the  
Portin-  
gals with  
all.



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After all this, on Saturday in the Evening, which was Saint Johns euen, on which day they gaue out, that they would giue the battaile, there appeared the whole army of the enimyes as they were accustomed to shew themselves. The Captaine Generall hoping of theyr coming, did tarre there all that night, but in the morning he saw no likelihood thereof, and meruailing what that shoulde meane, was informed by two Bramenes that the king of Calycut was gone with his whole power vnto Repelyn, and that at that present hee was there.

For this newes hee was very sorrie, but yet for all that hee entered that present daye into Repelyn, where hee fought with many of his enimyes, slew and hurt a greate number, and so returned to the passage, where he remained yet certeine dayes to ensure Coching the better, which was yet askeard of the king of Calycuts returning, fearing that he would not leaue this passage. Howbeit the Captaine Generall was well assured that he would not come there, by reason hee was fallen into such reproch and shame, in the sight of all men, because of his great losses. So that immediatly after that he had past the riuers of Repelyn, he apparred himselfe with his noble men which had accompanied him in these warres, and said vnto them with weeping eyes in this manner following.

**F**OR a man that is without shame, as I am, it is not much to shedde these teares as I doe, the heauinesse of my losse being such, as fetcheth the same from my hearte, with the which I am so troubled, that since it is so, that I cannot doe it in publike sort, I will goe into some place where I may do the same without any body that may see me: I haue also another grieve which troubleth me very sore, ouer and besides my dishonour, which is, for that I am not able to rewarde you for all the greate good will and seruice you haue done mee in these warres, the which I take for so greate a dutye, that if so be that I might see my selfe discharged of the same, I should bee

bet.

the Kings  
Oration,  
made to  
such prin  
ces & no  
ble men  
came to  
aide him  
in these  
warres,

better contented, then with the getting of Coching. But, since it is not Gods pleasure that I shoulde get the victorie over it, which hath procured my dishonour, so is it not his pleasure and will that I possesse the state of a king any longer, but rather for the amending of my sinnes will ende my lyfe in this Torcull, where I meane to continue untill such time that God hath taken awaye this hatred, which hee hath conceived against mee. And from this time forward you may dispose of your selues, and do what you shall thinke best with my countrie and subiectes. I doe not offer you my person, forsomuch as being a man so unfortunate as I am, it shall not stand with your credite to require his companie, and with this speech hee ended his talke.

A Torcull is as much as with vs an hermitage, or such lyke pore kind of solitary religious place

But the Princes and Noble men woulde somewhat haue comforted him, and withdraue him from this his determination, but it could not preuaile, for that he had fully bent himselfe to the contrary, and so with certeine of his Chaplaines he entered into this Torcull.

Now his mother hauing knowledge that he was there, shee sent him word, that for this his sodeine determination she remained as heauie and with as sorrowfull a heart as might bee. Informing him moreover, that through this sodeine chaunce, there hath risen in Calycut a great alteration, for that from thence are gone and now are ready to go many & sundrie merchants, and also that the citie is become wonderfully vnprouided of victualls, with the greafe feare the inhabitants are in of the Christians: which is the occasion ther are no victualls brought thether. But no pers wasion she sayd, could withdraue him from these wars with the Christians, which from the beginning of the same was a great grieve vnto her: willing him also that in no case he shoulde returne vnto Calycut, untill he might doe the same with his credit, which was cleane lost alreadie. And therefore shee counsailed him a while to forbear, untill such time he did recover it againe, and that with victorie, yea, & rather to lose all then to returne without it.

The Mothers message to the King of Calycut, being in the Torcull.

When credit is impaired, it is better to lurke then to runne abroad with dishonour.



## The Conquest

With this message the Kings heauinofle increased greatly, and he sent immediatlye for his Brother, to whome being come, he gaue him charge of the gouernment of his kingdome. But after that he came out of the foresaid Mozcul, it was restored vnto him againe.

¶ How there came sundry Kings & Princes of the Countrey to demaund peace of the Captaine generall: & also how there came vnto Coching many Moores of Calycut, to inhabite there.

Chap. 74.



All these Kings and Noble men, which came to serue y<sup>e</sup> king of Calicut (after that he had placed himselfe in the Mozcul) remained a few dayes in Repelyn, tarrieng to see whether he did repent himselfe of that which he had done, or not: and perceiuing y<sup>e</sup> contrary, each of them

repaired toward their Countreyes, whereof the most part of them laye there along the water side. And so somuch as the Winter began to increasse, and they fearing least the Captaine generall would overcome them all, hauing now lost the hope they had to defend themselves now as before time. Wherefore they minded to procure as much as they could, to be friends and in peace with the Captaine generall. For the which intent as Mediatour for the same purpose, they sent to the King of Coching, whom for that his condition and nature was very good, & without calling to remembrance the iniuries that were past, which they had done vnto him, did undertake to do the same. Sending them immediatly a safeconduct for their safe comming vnto Coching, from whence he went in their company to visit the Captaine generall, whom at their meeting, he earnestly requested

the goodnes of the King of Cochings nature noted in being a meane to procure

quested to receiue them as his friendes, who aunswored, <sup>peace for</sup> that for his sake he would so doe. <sup>his eni-</sup> Diuers other Princes <sup>mies,</sup> also there were, that coulde not come, but yet not withstanding they sent vnto him their Embassadors to conclude this peace likewise. Also sundrye Mozes of Calycut that were great Merchants, to the ende they might quietly vse their trade, forsooke Calycut, & came to dwell at Coching, with the consent of the Captaine generall. Others there were that went to Cananor and Coulan, so that the great Trade that was befoze in Calycut began sodainly to fall. And for that the Mozes of Calycut began in this sorte to inhabite in Coching, therefore the Captaine generall wold not leaue this passage, as also for that there came manye & sundry times Paraos from Calycut into the riuers to keep the same, by Nabeadarins commaundement. Notwithstanding the Captaine generall met with them and fought with them, and hurt many of his enimies. Moreover, he oftentimes entered into the Lord of Repelyns Countrey to take Castell for his provision, & fought with many of his enimies, vpon whom he made great slaughter. One daye by chaunce our men met with certaine Tones of the enimies, the which were in a certaine standing water, and carried them away into the riuers, and made with the enimies a valyant and stout skirmish, in the which was slaine the greatest parte of them, and not one of our men hurt.

After all this, the Lorde of Repelyn became the Captaine generalls friende, and came to visite him, and brought him for a Present a great quantitie of Pepper, which he had in his Countrey. <sup>The Lord of Repelyn, is also reconciled vnto the captaine generall.</sup>

¶ How Lope Suares de Menefis departed for the Indias for captaine generall of the Fleete that went in the yeare of our Lorde, a 1504. and what more past or euer he came to Anfadina.

cap. 75.



# The Conquest

1504.

The fift  
voiage to  
the Indi-  
as made  
by y<sup>e</sup> Por-  
tingales



In the yeare of our Lorde. 1504. the king of Portingale hauing certeine knowledge, that the king of Calycut continued as yet in the warres, did therfore send to succour our men with a flete of twelue great shippes, and appointed for Generall of the same, a Gentleman called Lope Suares de Menesis, who in the time of king Don Iohn the second, had bene Captaine in the Mina. The Captaines of the flet were these follow-  
ing.

Pedro de Mendosa, Lionel Cotinuo, Tristim de la Sil-  
ua, Lope Mendus, de Vascon Cele, Lope de Abreo, Phi-  
lipe de Castro, Alonso Lopes de Castro, Alonso Lopes de  
la Costa, Pero Alonso, de Aguylar, Vasco de la Siluero,  
Vasco Caruallo, Pedro Dynes de Sutunell. All these were  
Gentlemen bozne, and some were made Gentlemen by  
seruice. These also carryed with them many balliant soul-  
diers, who being unbarked, and the Captaine Generall dis-  
patched, did depart from Lishborne the. xxi. of Aprill in the  
selfe same yeare, and continuing theyr voiage on the second  
day of May, they found themselves right in their course to  
Cape Verde. Then y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall hauing here all y<sup>e</sup>  
flete together, caused his Captaines, Maisters, and Pi-  
lots, to assemble themselves, vnto whome he spake in sence  
following. Willing them to call to remembraunce howe  
lately they had departed from portingale, for which cause  
it was requisite that they were circumspect and diligent, and  
not to fall into such disozders and extremities as hetherto  
they haue done, for not looking euery man vnto his charge,  
and not to suffer one ship leye the other a worde, as they  
haue done already, whereby they ranne all into greate  
daunger. Also there were others he said, that had no regard  
to keepe theyr right course, but vnadvisedly there were some  
that would go before, and others come after, and others by  
the winde, by meanes of which disozder they might haue  
cast

The Cap-  
tain gene-  
rals orati-  
on which  
he made  
to his cap-  
taines, ma-  
sters and  
Pilots.

cast away themselves. And the better to avoid these dangers, and to keepe the Flēte in good order, he did set down certaine rules in writing by his Scriuenor, and signed therevnto his name, with the names of the other Captaines, which they should obserue and keepe.

Item, That all the Flēte, as soone as it is night, shall follow his course, remaining alwayes a sterne the Generall: and that no ship shall carry other light, then onely that which is in the Wytoke, and within the Captaines cabin. Also, that the Masters and Pilots keep their watch, and that they haue a good regard, that one ship doe not lay the other a board, and that they do all amaine were, when the Admirall doth make any signe.

Orders that were giuen to euery captain, Master and Pilot, to keepe the same in their voyage.

Item, That as soone as it is day, they doe come and salute their Generall, and that in the night they doe not go before him. He that doeth not obserue these commaundements, shall paye ten Crownes, and be kept in prison, vntill they arrine there, and that without wages. And so that there was some Masters and Pilots very neglygent, by whose default one ship did lay the other a board, he commaunded to remoue them from one ship to another: and by this diligence that was thus vled, euery man had a regard therevnto, and the Flēte went in good order, & neuer after ranne in any daunger. Thus going on their course in the month of Iune, and iudging themselves ouer against the Cape Buena spuransa, there fell vpon them a meruailous great storme of winde, with the which all the Flēte ranne two dayes and two nights without sayles, so y they were in great daunger to haue bene all cast away, the weather being so darke and close, that it seemed rather night, then day.

The penalty laid vpon the breach of these commaundements.

These two dayes being past, they saw certaine signes of lande, the which as it did appeare, could not bee farre off, and so that cause was the weather so close. After that they had discryed y same, & were come nere ther vnto, then these signes appeared the greater. And therefore the Captaine generall commaunded, that out of his shippe there  
 Mr. should



## The conquest

should be shot two peeces of Ordnance, that the others might after the same manner aunſ were with the like, and the better keepe companie the one with the other. This ſtoꝛme being paſt, they ſounde miſſing the ſhip of Lope Mendez. And the Captaine generall ſeeing that he hadde loſt the ſight thereof did not let to goe ſoꝛwarde on his courſe.

A great  
leake giue  
vnto one  
of ſhips  
through  
negligẽce  
of the ſai  
lers

And ſo, within certaine dayes through the negligence of the Officers, one ſhippe layde the other a boꝛde, and gaue therewith ſo great a blow vpon the bow of ſ other, that with the ſame there was opened ſo great a hole, that they might ſee through the ſhippe verie well, by the which hole therẽ entered ſuch aboundaunce of water vpon a ſo dayne, that ſhe was almoſt ſunke. The Captaine generall bare with the ſame ſhippe immediately, and came ſo neere them that they might well heare him, and the great comfoꝛte he gaue them, willing them not to bee a ſearde, but to goe ſoꝛwarde in ſtopping the leake, without feare to be loſt, ſoꝛ that he was there to ſuccour them with his men, which he did ſende in his Boats not fearing the Seas, that went ſo high, noꝛ the daunger that they were in.

The leak  
stopped,  
and the  
daunger  
thereof  
paſt, they  
ſayle foꝛ-  
ward

And ſoꝛ all that the Mariners of the ſhip did ſo work, that oꝛ euer it was night the leake was halfe ſtopped: yet that they might end ſ reſt that remayned to doe, the Captaine generall commaunded to be made a ſign by the ſame ſhippe, that the other Captaynes might come and ſuccour him, if there were any ſuch neede. The wether being ſ next daye ſomewhat calme, the leake was wholly ended, the which was ſtopped with certaine hides nayled therevnto, and pitched vpon.

This daunger being paſt, without anye other miſchaunce, worth the wꝛiting, they arriued at Monſambique on Saynt Iames daye, where the Gouvernour receined him verie well, and ſent him great reſreſhing of freſh victuals, and the Letter that Pedro de Tayde had leſte

lette there for him before he dyed, as I haue sayd before.

Who vnderstanding by the same, of the warres that the King of Calycut had begunne agaynst our men, didde as sone as the shippe was rigged, and made in a readinesse, which they had brought a grounde for the same purpose, he departed towarde Mylynde, being the first of August. And immediatly after his arrivall there, the King sent to visite him by one of his principall Mozes, by whome he sent for a Present sixtene of our men, the which did escape out of the ship that Pedro de Tayde was Captaine of.

Certaine  
Portin-  
gales  
sent vnto  
the Cap-  
tain gene-  
rall for a  
present.

Within two dayes after this, he departed toward the Indias, and so came to Anfadina, where he founde two Gentlemen, the one called Antonyo de Saldanua, and the other Ruy Lorenzo, which were Captaines of two shippes, and were in great feare, supposing that our Fleet had bene of the Rumes. Then Antonyo de Saldanua, informed largelye the Captaine generall how he departed the last yeare from Portingale for Vice admirall, with Ruy Lorenzo, being giuen him in commission to go & discover the red Sea with the Countreyes adiacent. And how that in doubling the Cape, they were verie sorely troubled with a storme, which was the onely cause of the separating the one of them from the companie of the other. But Ruy Lorenzo as he kept his course after their seperation, met by chaunce in the waye to Sofala, with a certaine ship of the Mozes being laden with much golde, the which he tooke: & afterward that he had taken the spoyle of the same, he lefte the Hull in keeping at Mylynde. Antonyo de Saldanua went to Quardafum, where he tooke many great and exceeding rich prizes, without entering at all into the Straights: and from thence he went into the Indias.

And for that he came not to Anfadina before it was the Winter, he was therefore dzinen to tarry there with Ruy Lorenzo, who hauing passed many dangers, came after ward  
Ar.ij. together



## The conquest

thether, where he past great troubles, for lacke of victu-  
alls.

¶ How the Captaine generall came to Cananor,  
and spake with the King: and how the Gouver-  
nour of Calycut, would haue made peace with  
him, howbeit he would not consent therevnto.  
Chap. 76.



**H**e Captaine generall being here, came  
thether vnto him Lope Mendez de Vas-  
con celis, who had lost the companie of  
his Generall, with the foule weather past.  
And immediately after that he was come,  
the Captaine generall made him prest, for  
his departure towarde Cananor, where he arrived the first  
daye of September. There the Factor, enformed him of  
the warres of Calycut, and how that he with his other  
fellowes that remained in Cananor, had seene themselves  
oftentimes in daunger of death.

The Cap-  
tain gene-  
rall goeth  
a land to  
visite the  
king of  
Cananor.

The state  
which the  
Captaine  
generall  
kept at  
his going  
to visite  
the king of  
Cananor.

The next daye after his comming thether, he would  
needs goe a lande to visite the king of Cananor. All the  
Captaines of the flete he carried in his company to at-  
tende vppon him with theyr Boates, the which were set  
forth with theyr flagges and Ordinaunce to the vtter-  
most, and the men apparayled in the best apparayle that  
they had. And as for the Boate in the which the Cap-  
taine generall went, it was covered ouer and beset with  
Carpettes in the best manner, vppon the which stode  
his Chayre, the which was made of vntoyned Crim-  
son Veluet, and at his feete there were set two very faire  
Cushions of the same. His Dublet was also made of  
Satten, being of sundrye coulours, the which was  
wrought Diamond wise. And mozeouer, his hose were made after the same  
sorte, and his Shooes were lykelike made of blacke  
Veluet.

Veluet, which were all beset with Aglets of golde, and his Cap couered ouer with Buttons sutable to the same: his night gowne was made of blacke Veluet, after the French vse laced about, with lase of golde, his Dagger and Kapper which his page held, were hasted with pure golde, and his cheine came thre times about his necke, the links wherof were all enameled, and at the same he hadde hanging his Whistle of golde of the lyke worke. There went befoze him his two Lackyes, appareled as himself, and sixe trumpetters with their flagges of silke. He had also with him certeine wind instruments, vpon the which they went plaieng, which were carryed in a little Boate hard by him, and in the same was carried also a present for the king of Cananor, which the king of Portingale sent vnto him.

This present was sixe beds of fine holand, with two great pillowes and pillowbeeres to the same, all wrought with gold. Two Couertoys or Carpets of Crimosin Veluet vnto shorne, which on the uttermost side were all quilted ouer, and had vpon the same thre gards of cloth of golde, which in the middelt was a spanne in breadth, and in the other places of thre fingers. The bedsteepe was all quilted ouer, the which had Curteines of Crimosin Satten, with Fringe made of golde thred. As soone as the Captaine Generall did put of from his shippes, all the Flote began to shoute off. Afterwards the Trumpettes did sound, and the Drums play. After this was ended, then the Organs went, and neuer ceased, till they came to the water side, where ther were great multitudes of Mozes and Gentiles, which came thither onely to see the Captaine Generall. Who as soone as he had disembarked himselfe, entered into a certeine house, the which the king had caused to be made for the same purpose hard by the water side, in the which the bedstead with the whole furniture appertaining was set vp, and hard by the same there was a place appointed for the captain generall to sit down on. When the king of Cananor came, he brought befoze him thre Elephants armed, as though they shoulde fight, and after them there came a squadzon of thre thousand

The present which the king of Portingale sent to the king of Cananor.

The king of Cananor brauery and state at his meeting with the captaine generall



## The Conquest

Paires, with their weapons, which was swordes, targets, and speares. Also there came another Squadron of two thousand bolwe men. Last of all came the king himselfe sitting in a chaire, the which was verie rich. When he was come to this Sarame, the ordinance of all the Fleet was shot off. The Captaine Generall thereby perceiuing the king to bee at hande, went forth as farre as the doze to receiue him. And after that they had embraced each other, he presented him with the bed, vnto the which the king did go immediately, and lay downe vpon the same. The Captaine Generall seeing that, late downe in his place appointed, and there they conferred together for the space of two houres. In the meane while a graye hounde of the Captaine Generalls would haue set vpon one of the Elephants, and because hee was holden, he therefore barked and plunged in such sort, that there was none that could heare, by reason of the noise they made, neither yet there was anye able to holde him, which was the occasion the king and the Captaine generall were so little time together. After this meeting, there came vnto the Captaine Generall a Moore from Calycut, with whom there was also in companie a Portingale boy, which brought a letter from such of our men as remained then captiues, from the time of Pedro Aluares Cabrals being there, who told him by word of mouth, that the king of Calycut was so broken in minde with the warres that hee had with Edwarte Pacheco, that with pure heauinesse hee put himselfe into a Tozcoll, sequestering himselfe from all the world.

And that there were many Moores Merchantes so earnestly bent to followe theyr trade, that they haue left Calicut, and are gone to dwell in other places, by reason whereof, there is in Calycut greate necessitie of victualls. And therefore that the King of Calycut, the Prince, the Aldermen, and all the dwellers of Calicut are desirous to make peace, and are determined to send vnto him about the same. And gaue our men lycense to write thereof to the Captaine Generall, the which they so did, not onely about

The  
Mores for  
sake Calicut,  
& goe  
els vvh  
to dyvell

bout their request, but also to desire him to release them out of captiuitie.

The Captaine Generall seeing and perusing this Letter, would haue answered the same, but the Boy would not consent thereunto, saing that of force he must needes returne with the Moze, for that they gaue him no further lycense, but to bring this Letter, vppon condition that if hee did not returne, they would cutte off the heades of all those his fellowes that remayned for Captiues in Calycut. Wherefore the Captaine Generall sent them answer by worde of mouth, that as touching his going to Coching, it would be shortly, where hee would come to an Anko as nere as hee could to Calycut, passing by the same: and then they might take an occasion to come they waye towards the flete, either swimming or in Boates.

This they going without yrons about the Citie, was the occasion that the Captaine Generall gaue them this counsell, although hee knewe that they were kepte with a gard of Paires, and also that they slept in the kings house. After all this, he departed towards Calycut, whether hee came on Saterdaye, the seauenth of September, and as soone as hee came to an Anko, there repayed vnto him the Boye, which brought him h letter to Cananor, and with him came a Moze Seruaunt to Cosebyquin, who brought the Captaine Generall a present from h Gouernours of the citie of Calicut, on whose behalfe they sayd, that if so hee hee would sende vnto Cosebyquin a safe conduct, that then hee would come and speake with him, and trade for a peace.

He vould haue the to escape frō their keepers, & come swimming vnto him

Whereunto he answered, that he would not accepte they present, nor anye other thing, vntill such time the peace was concluded vpon: and as for Cosebyquin, he might come vnto him without anye feare, as a seruaunt of the king of Portingales. Also priuely hee sent our men word that they should indeuour as much as they could to runne away.

This



## The Conquest

This answer being knowne to the gouernours, they sent immediatly Cosebyquin with two captiue Portingales to the Captaine Generall, beleuing most certeinlye, that by this meanes they shuld prouoke vs to make the peace, which they sent to demaunde by the foresaide Cosebyquin.

The two Italian runagates iustly required by the Captaine generall to be deliuered.

A craftye deuise of the Italians to haue the captiues closelye kept for the assurance of theselues.

Praeing him also to farrie thre or foure dayes, which they supposed woulde be the longest time that the king woulde tarry, for that they had sent to call him, and knowing verie well, that he would doe all that they would require him.

But he gaue them for ful answer, that vntil such time they deliuered vnto him the two Italian runagates that wer in Calicut, he would not agree to any thing, which beeing deliuered, he would then doe what he thought good, but he sent them word nothing of y captiues, for that he thought that at anie time they might runne their waye. But as sone as the Italians had knowledge, that the Captaine generall did demaund them, they then surmised that if so be, the captiues went not with yrons, they would runne awaye, and so gaue notice therof vnto the gouernours of the Citie, how that the Captaine Generall, if y he might haue them wold make peace, yea, and with such conditions as the king himselfe would require, for that they were men of a good estimation, so that the Captaine Generall would not forgo them for any price.

The Aldermen giuing credite vnto this, wared somewhat colde in speaking any further of peace, but kept the Captiues from thence forth, in such sort that they coulde not runne away. And so they remained vntill the comming of the Vizeroye Don Francisco de Almeda, & in the meane time some there were that did run awaye, and others that died of great infirmities.

Of the great destruction which the Captaine generall made in Calycut, and how he came vnto Coching. chap. 77.

The



**T**HE Captaine Generall perceiuing that the gouernours did conclude nothing, and themselues were without hope to haue the captiues, he bent himselfe determinatly to reuenge himselfe with shooting off his ordinaunce both night and day at the Citie, during the which time, he spoiled the same wonderfully, and ouerthrew the kings house and part of their Pagodes, with many other of their houses. He slew also sundry men that came to the water side, wherevnto he laye somewhat nere with seven of his small ships. Moreover he had lieng a long the shoze all their boats, in the which were both men and ordinaunce. This being done, he departed toward Coching, wher he arriued on Saturday being the viii. day of September. All this day he kept himselfe a boord, and thether came our men to visit him. On the next day, he disimbarcked himselfe hard by the castle in like order as he did at Cananor, where the king of Coching was tarrieng for him, and there receiued him with great pleasure. And after that he had imbraced him, they went hand in hand to the hall, in the which there was a seate of estate, wherupon was set a chaire. And for that the king did sit lowe according to his order, y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall commaunded to place the chaire somewhat further off from the kings seate, in the which he sat downe also. But all those that were present were greatly offended with him, for that he did not sit vpon his chaire of estate by the king, to whome he deliuered a Letter from the king of Portingale, in the which were rendered vnto him greateshanke, for the fauour he had shewed vnto his subiectes, with many other gratulations. Vnto the which the king answered, that for all such matters he was fully satisfied with the good seruice that Edwarte Pacheco had done vnto him.

Embassadors are to keepe theyr estates for the honor of theyr Princes that sende them.

The next daye after, the Captaine Generall sent him a great sum of money, the which the king of Portingale did bestowe vpon him, for that he knew he was but poore.

¶

After



## The Conquest

After all this, he commaunded Pedro de Mendosa, and Vasco Caruallo, to goe with theſe ſhips to keepe the coaſt of Calycut, that they might take all ſuch ſhips of ſpices as were laden with ſpices: and alſo he ſent Alonſo Lopes de la Coſta, and Peralonſo de Aguylar, and Lyonel Cocinuo, and Ruy de Abren, to goe and receine in theſe lading at Coulan, ſoꝛ that he knew ther was ſpice in abundance.

They met  
with ſpi-  
ces better  
cheap, &  
nerer had  
then at  
Grāgalor.

Moreouer he commaunded Triſtim de la Silua, to goe to Grangalor, betwene the riuers, with foure boates armed, of purpoſe to fight there with certeine Paraos of Calycut, the which were there armed. So Triſtim de la Silua ſhot at ſome of them, and alſo at certeine payres, the which iſſued out from certeine pointes of the lande, and ſo without comming to Grangalor, he tooke a ſhip laden with Pepper, with the which he returned to Coching, where hee did lade with the other Captaines, which was done very quietly: and there was ſuch great ſtoze of ſpices, that there was none then needed.

How Edwarte Pacheco departed from Coulan vnto Coching: and how the Captaine Generall did ſet vppon Grangalor, and what he did there. Chap. 78.



Edwarte Pacheco being come from the coaſt of Coulan, as ſone as he had ſight of the Captaines, the which the Captaine generall had ſent, and ſoꝛ that he ſhould haue no more to doe after his arriuall at Coching, ſince there was come another Captaine Generall, did depart toward Coching the xxii. of October, and keeping his courſe, had ſight of a ſhip a ſarre off in the Sea, toward the which he made all that day, & part of the night, and this ſhip was dꝛinen into Coulan, where  
having

having talke with the same, he did understand that he was one of the confederates the which came from Coromandil. And immediatly after were seene other three shippes of Calycut, towarde the which he made his course, and kepte a long the coast with the winde of the shoare. In the morning he went into the Sea, and there he sawe a Saile, the which fled away from him in such sort, & til it was toward the evening he could not overtake the same, but hard to the lande, with the which he fought a good while, for that it had many men that did defend themselves, but at the ende hee made them amaine. The shippe being yeldeoed, our men did enter the same by Edwarte Pachecos commaundement, and there were brought a lande certeine of theyr men, the rest he commaunded to be kept prisoners and in yrons, a boord his ship.

A ship of Calicut taken & carried away

And having knowledge that this was one of the three of Calicut, the which he went to seeke out, hee put in the same two of our men to keepe and carrie it with him.

When hee was come right over against Comorin, there fell vpon him on a sodaine such a hurling Winde, that thereby hee was brought in great hazard to be cast away.

This being past, he came to an Anko within a league of the shoare, and there remained all that night, in the which there raine away well neere thirtie Mozes, of the which were twelue taken againe with his Boate. After this, hee went vp and downe, wauering in the winde, tarryeng for the rest of the shippes, and seeing that they came not, nor yet heard no more newes of them, he carreyed the foresayde shippe with him to Coulan. After that hee had deliuered the ship to the Factor, with all such merchandise as he had, the which wer many and rich, he departed toward Coching, where after his comming the ships of the Flote went to lading. And likewise the others being come that were a lading in other places, then the Captaine generall did enter in counsell, whether that they thought good that he should set vpon Grangalor or not, forasmuch as it held on the king of Calycuts side, and was enemie to the king of Coching.

¶ ii.

And



## The Conquest

The king  
of Calicut  
is nowe  
come  
forth of  
Torcul &  
taketh  
gouverne-  
ment vp-  
pon him.

And now also the king of Calicut was come forth of the Torcul to Calycut, and had in the rivers his Captaine generall with foure score paraos, and fiftie shippes, and by lande had appointed Nabeadarin with a greate number of men.

And forasmuch as it was spread abroad, that the Captaine Generall did depart towarde Portugale, the king of Calycut was minded to returne and renewe the warres. Now the Captaine generall being determined and aduised by all the Captaines to set vppon Grangalor, he departed one night with xv. boates, the which were armed with payesles, and with five and twentie Paraos from Coching, replenished with Ordnance. Also with these there went a Caruell, so that in the whole there were welnigh a thousande of our men, with whom there went also as manye Payres of Coching. In the morning befoze it was daye, he came to Palypuerto, for hee durst venture no further, for that the Boates went verie heauie laden with theyr furniture, by reason wherof they could not passe the shoells that were there.

At this place there came against him the Prince with eight hundred Payres, and after this sort, some there were of them that went by lande, and some by water. Thus they departed toward Grangalor, where the king of Calycuts Captaine generall was, in two new ships, the which were cheined together full of Ordnance and men, and the most of them bolwe men. And a stearne these shippes, and on both their sides were these paraos with many men also.

The Captaine Generall of the enemies had in his company two of his sonnes, which wer accounted for to be very valyaunt Gentlemen. Our Fleet being come, the Ordnance beganne to goe off on both partes. Tristim de la Silva, Alonso de la costa, Vasco curuallo, Peralonso de Aguyar, and Antonio de Saldanla, which went in the Mangarden diode close with the two ships, with the which they fought a while.

These

These ships being boarded, were immediately yielded, being first of all slaine, the Captaine generall and both his sonnes, the which fought very valiantlye, and also many others, so that in this place was all the force of the East-Inde. And as touching the Paraos that the other Captains did set vpon, there was but little to doe, so much that as soone as they saw their ships boarded they fled their waye. Wherevpon commandement was giuen by the Captaine generall, that all our men should disembarked themselves, of whom the first five Captains were they that gaue the first onset vpon Nambadarin, who offered to resist, with certaine Payres which he had in his retinue: with whome our men did fight with so valiant a minde, that they made theyr enimies to runne awaye. Then our men following the chase did set fire to certaine houses, beside all y<sup>e</sup> Towne which was spoiled both by the Moors and Gentiles, the which did well know, that our men would come vpon the, as also did Nambadarin and his men, which fled awaye along the water side. Edwarte Pacheco, and the Factor Diego Hernando Correa, with the other Captaines did disembarked themselves in another place, who immediately began to set a fire the Citie. The Captaine generall in the meane while remained along the water side to keepe his men from scattering. Then the Christians that dwelt in this Citie, and that were hidden amongst the houses, when they saw the Towne all in a fire, came out from where they were hidden, crying with a loude voyce, and requesting them not to kill them so that they were Christians. And some of them ther w<sup>er</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> went presently to the Captaine generall, to pray him that for Gods sake hee would command the fire to be quenched, so that they shoulde els burne certaine Churches of our Ladie and of the Apostles which were in the Citie, as also their poore houses, y<sup>e</sup> which were mingled with the houses of the Gentiles and Moors. Then for their sakes, the Generall commanded the fire immediately to be quenched, although that many of theyr houses were burnt, which so that they were made of timber,

The Captaine generall of the enimies and his two sons slaine.

The fire commanded to be quenched.



# The Conquest

for þ pore  
christians  
fakes that  
dwelle  
there

ber, did burne quickly. The fire being quenched, our men  
fel to ransaking of the houses of the Mozes, among whom  
there were many which before time had dwelt in Calicut.  
Moreover, the two shippes with their Paraos that were in  
the water were likewise burnt, besides other thre y were  
a land. This conflict yet continuing, there came thether the  
Prince of Coching, who told the Captaine Generall, that  
Nambadaryn was not far off with his power, who was  
determined to returne to the Citie, after that he was de-  
parted. Then the Captaines procured license of the Cap-  
taine Generall that he would suffer them to goe seeke him  
out, & so they did. But as soone as the enimies had sight of  
them, they ran their way as fast as they could. The Cap-  
taine generall seeing this, did returne, & wold haue set vpon  
another Towne the which was not farre off, but soz that  
the Prince of Coching requested him to the contrary, soz  
that the one halfe of the same was his, and that it was im-  
possible to destroy the one halfe without the other: and al-  
so soz that the King of Calycuts subiects were ready to sub-  
mit themselues vnto him, praying him to defend them.  
Then the Captaine generall entered into the Citie, & did  
ther make certain knights, and afterward returned to the  
Forste, to the which the King of Coching came to visit  
him.

After a va-  
liant ex-  
ploit, the  
Captaine  
Generall  
maketh  
knights in  
recōpence  
of theyr  
vertue.

¶ How the King of Tanor sent for succour to the  
Captaine generall; which he sent him. Cap. 79.



An embas-  
sador sent  
to the cap

After two or thre daies past that the Cap-  
taine generall was in the Castle, there  
came thether vnto him an Embassadour  
from y King of Tanor, who is next neigh-  
bour to the King of Calicut, who spake  
vnto him in this order, on y King his ma-  
jests behalfe, That whereas, hereto he had bene a friend  
to the King of Calicut, and did alwaies aid him in all such  
wars as he had made against Edwarte pacheco, now since  
he

he is come out of the Tozcull, presuming on his great power, and hauing encreased or rather doubled his pride, doth in recompence of his good seruice, make warres vpon him. And therfore hauing knowledge that the King of Calicut was minded to set forwarde and to succour the Citie of Grangalor, and that his Captaine generall was marching toward the same, he did assemble 4000. Payres, which he placed in certaine straights, by the which y<sup>e</sup> king of Calicut shuld passe, & at his comming did set vpon his whole campe & ouerthrew the same, with the death of 2000. of his men, which was the cause y<sup>e</sup> he came not to succour the citie of Grangalor, but with this losse returned to Calicut. Wherefore hauing done this exployt, he remaineth in feare, leass he wil come and set vpon him. And therfore his request is, that the Captaine generall will succour him, since most humbly he doth demaund y<sup>e</sup> same: which if he will doe, he will promise him to be true subiect to y<sup>e</sup> king of Portingale. To this Embassage y<sup>e</sup> General answered, y<sup>e</sup> he was wel content to accept him for y<sup>e</sup> kings subiect, & to send Pedro Raphael with his Caruell, in y<sup>e</sup> which were an 100. men, the most whereof were Crossebowmen, & shot. It was a great chance, y<sup>e</sup> the same daye our men came to Tanor, thether came also y<sup>e</sup> king of Calicut by land with his whole camp, & gane to y<sup>e</sup> king of Tanor battell, in which through y<sup>e</sup> valour of our men he was ouerthromen, & many of his slaine. And for this succor y<sup>e</sup> the Generall sent thether, the king of Tanor remained subiect to y<sup>e</sup> king of Portingale. With this ouerthrow y<sup>e</sup> king of Calicut continued in great feare, & in lesse credit with y<sup>e</sup> Moyses, then he had with y<sup>e</sup> victories that Edwards Pacheco had gotte against him, because those wars were made with strangers, but this with y<sup>e</sup> king of Tanor, who is his neighbor. Wherby thing was y<sup>e</sup> cause, y<sup>e</sup> all such Moyses, as dwell in Calicut & Grangalor conceiued now so great a mistaking to trade toward Meca, y<sup>e</sup> they determined to return to their countries: & for this cause, they laded great ships in pandarane, fortifying them to defend themselves from our men y<sup>e</sup> better, & to offend the, if they shuld come.

Also

tain gene  
rall from  
the king  
of Ta-  
nor, vwho  
made the  
Oration  
folowing

The king  
of Calicut  
cuts vvh  
pouer o  
uerthrow  
en at Ta-  
nor, by y<sup>e</sup>  
king the  
of, & the  
Porting  
gales



## The Conquest

Also there were many Paraos and Tones, lyke wise a lading as fast as they could plye it.

How the Captaine generall fought in Pandarane with seuentene great ships of the Moores, and how he ouercame them and burned them.

Chap. 79.



The Captaine generall perceiuing that of force he must needes returne, with all such ships as were laden, by counsaile of the Captaines, and for securitie of the King of Coching and of the Fort there, did therefore appoint and leaue in Coching a Cap-

taine generall, with whom he left a ship and two Caruels, the one of Pedro Raphael, and the other of Diego Pieres.

This Captaine was a Gentleman called Manuel telez de Vasconcelos, whom the Captaine generall did present to

the King of Coching, who had a great deale more desire, that Edwarte Pacheco should haue remained, for his good

seruice, and affection he bare him, as I haue sayd. Notwith-

standing, he durst not demaund his tarring at the Captaine generalls hands, forsomuch as he was of a very

ill condition. Edwarte Pacheco hauing knowledge of his go-

ing for Portingale, purposed first ere that he departed, to

speake with the King of Coching, the which he so did.

For whose departure the King remained very sorrowfull,

requesting him to tarrie if so be it were possible in the In-

dias, and not to leaue him, for that as yet he did not think

himselfe sure from the King of Calicut, and also he tolde him that he remembered that he had promised him sundry

times not to goe away, untill such time he had made him

King of Calicut, and since as yet he had not the possession

of the same, he desired him not to leaue him. Edwarte Pacheco answered him, that he left him now in a good time,

hauing his Countrey verie quiet, forsomuch as the King of Calicut hath bene and now is abated so greatly of his

pride,

the effect  
of the  
wordes,  
which the  
King of  
Coching  
spake to  
Edwarte  
Pacheco  
at his de-  
parture,

The King  
swore that  
Edwarte  
Pacheco,  
gaue to  
the King of  
Coching

pride, that he needed not to stande in no feare of him anye moze. For sufficient prowe whereof was, if none other thing, that now he sawe the Mozes of Meca to go theyr way from Calycut as men desperate for the losse of their trade. Also that his going for portingale was not but to returne, and then to serue him for a longer time, and moze at his pleasure. With this aunswere the King was somewhat satisfied, and with the teares in his eyes desired him to pardon him, for that he did not giue him all that was his desire, in recompence of the seruice he had done for him, in consideration that he was so poore, as he did well knowe. Howbeit he intreated him, that of his Pepper which hee had, he would take what he would.

The good  
will of a  
thankfull  
minde is  
much  
more  
worth the  
many  
gifts

But Edwarte Pacheco would haue nothing, saieing, that he did trust in God, that when he returned to Coching, hee should finde him very rich, & in his prosperitie, and then he would receiue reward of him. And with this he departed, the King with all his subiects remaining verie heauie for his departure. Moreover, the King wrote vnto the king of Portingale of all Edwarte Pacheco successes in the warres, and what he had done for him. After this the Captain general departed toward Cananor, the xvi. of September, carrying in his companie those Captaines which shoulde remaine in the Indias. His good wil & intent was, to come to an Anko in the harbour of Panane, and there to visite the King of Tanor. But by reason of the ill weather they had, and their naughtie Pilots they could not reach y same, but were driuen to Calycut and Pandarane. And from thence he commaunded Pedro Raphael and Diego Pieres to go before the Flote, and to looke out, whether they could see any ships of the Mozes. Being arriued at Pandarane, & bearing along the Coast with a small winde, there came vpon them x. Paros of the xvii. ships that were ther a lading. Our men hauing sight of them, began forthwith to shote at them with their ordinance. The other Captayns being a Sea boord, and hearing the sound of the ordinance, did returne, and bare as close by the winde as they could.

It.

And



## The conquest

The great  
provision  
of the  
Moorees a-  
gainst so  
few small  
boates.

And hauing sight of the ships of the Moorees to be a ground, came to Cananor by the Captaine generalls commaundement, who immediately entered into counsaile, in y<sup>e</sup> which it was determined by the whole consent of his Captains, that they shuld fight with those Moorees, and that they shuld goe in their boates, for that their ships could not come nere vnto them, by reason they were within the Barre. And for that the enimies were many, that therefore they should do what they could to close with the ships, the which as some as they had done, they shuld set the same a fire. This being appointed, the Captaine general with all y<sup>e</sup> other Captains of the Flēte, did imbarke themselves in their boates, the which were in all xv. in the which all the souldiers of the Flēte did imbarke themselves, and that with a great courage for that they went to fight with their enimies. These Moorees as I sayd, had their ships within the Barre, lyeng one close by another, with their steernes toward the land, and in the most part of them wer many souldiers, y<sup>e</sup> which were men of coulour white. Their weapons were bowes and arrowes, and also they had much ordinaunce. And on the land, at the entering of the barre were placed two peeces of ordinaunce vpon a small bulwarke which they had made. Our men bearing nere to this barre, had sight of the Captaine generall, and how the Caruells were somewhat farre off the shore, and that they came not, for that y<sup>e</sup> wind was but small, and therefore were perforce driuen to retorne backe for them, & to bring them by force of the oare within the Barre, for to succour their boates. The other Captaines (although they saw him retorne) went forwarde by force of the oare, and at the entering of the Barre, the Bellets fell as though it had rayned amongst them. But for all this they entered, shewing of all their Ordinaunce. But as their enimies were farre more then they, so they arrowes were without number. And for that our men by reason they wer somewhat low vnder their ships, wer open without any defence, therefore did they receiue great hurt, not onely by their ordinaunce, but also by their arrowes.

Peere

Where as it appeared, was all the force of the battaile : and  
for all the stoutnesse that was shewed by the enimies, yet  
our men entred into the middes of all the multitude of the  
shot, by force of the oare, in such sort y it appered as though  
the boats did flye, the men crying out S. Iames, S. Iames,  
& with y they laid those ships aboard: y first y laid any ship  
aboard was Tristim de la Silua, as soon as he was within  
the bar. And as y men of this ship were many, so they did  
shote such abundance of arrows & threw so many stones, y  
they made our men put off, who being off did immediate-  
ly close with another, in y which for that there wer not so  
many, they boarded the same in despite of the Moyses for all  
their stoutnes, in y which wer some of them slaine, & those  
that remained alive leapt for feare into the water & swam  
away. About y same time y Tristim de la Silua had layde  
this ship a board, Alonso de la costa did the like vnto ano-  
ther, which he took to be y Admirall, of y which a Werke  
was Captaine with all his company, which were manye.  
And at the boarding of this ship, were throwen such a mul-  
titude of stones and darts, that it was a wonder to see. It  
chaunced that before our men came to this ship, the eni-  
mies shooting at them with a peece, y which was lieng vpo  
the vpper decke, with y recopling it rent out a peece of the  
ship side, so y ther was made so great a hole, & the enimies  
not regarding it, thought it more needfull to succor y fore-  
part of their ship. And when our boat came hard a board y  
same side where this hole was, our men did enter by the  
same. The first that entered, was Alonso Lopes Master, &  
another Aluoro Lopes, who was y Kings seruant, & is now  
towne Clarke in Santaren, with many others. These alto-  
gether with those y came after, so fought with their  
enimies, that in the same conflict there were many slaine,  
others hid themselues vnder the hatches, & also others lept  
into y water, at y which time the most part of them were  
drowned, for that they wer laden with shirts of male. Im-  
mediate y one Pero Alonso de Aguyar layde another  
ship a board, hauing in his company Lyonel Cotinuo, and

It had ben  
better to  
haue cal-  
led vppon  
God to  
haue suc-  
coured  
them in  
that extre-  
mytye,



## The conquest

The  
Mores for  
feare  
leap into  
the sea, &  
drowne  
themselves.

also Edwarte Pacheco, Vasco Caruallo, Antonyo de Sal-  
dano, and Ruy Lorenzo, who all behaued themselves very  
valyauntly. And as sone as they had taken this ship, they  
immediatly set the same a fire, and it toke the same very  
furiously, so that thereby their enemies were so exceedingly  
afearde, that the most part of them leapt into the water and  
drowned themselves. While this was a doing, thether  
came the Captayne generall, with the Caruells, and being  
entered within the Barre, he leste them. Then one of the  
pieces that were on the lande was shot off with a pellet,  
which strake the Caruell of Pedro Raphael in such sort, &  
in such a place, that with the same were thre of his men  
slaine and ten soze hurt, and for lacke of winde, the floude  
carried him vnder the forecastle of a ship, of those that wer  
not as yet layd aboord, the which had many men. And for  
that the shippe was higher then the Caruell, who had the  
same vnder his sprit saile, therefore the enemies did enter,  
and handeled our men very ill, for that they also together did  
let vpon them. Also there was another piece shot, with the  
which the Master of the ship was slaine, being at the helme  
gouerning the Caruell, which being thus left at randon,  
before that there came any other to the helme, the Caruell  
fell vpon certaine Rockes, where she remained till the bat-  
taile was ended. The Captaine generall viewing the dan-  
ger that Pedro Raphael was in, commaunded him to bee  
succoured, and so it was done. Then our men entering in-  
to the Caruell, the which was full of Mores, they behaued  
themselves so valyauntly, that they made them flye awaye,  
but notwithstanding all our men that were within y Car-  
uell were soze hurt. In the meane space, all the ships of the  
enemies were burnt, and this also at the last, in the which  
was burnt great stoe of Merchandise, for that the same  
was laden. Which was done the rather, for that vpon the  
land there were many of the enemies which wer assembled  
together. And for that of our men there were many hurt,  
the Captain generall came his way with all his Captains  
toward their ships, where he found that there were slaine

Here vvas  
a great  
slaughter  
of the Por-  
tingals in  
respect of  
other  
battailes  
fought.

of our men xxv. and hurt an hundred and xxvii. men. But for all this the victorie was great. For ouer and besides the burning of the shippes with all their riches, the which was much, the Captaine generall was giuen to vnderstand by the Mozes of Cananor, (to the which place from thence he went) that ther were slaine in this battell two thousand men. With this spoyle the king of Calicut remained so ill contented, that fro that time for a good while after, he could not restoze himself, for that his losse was great, besides that the Mozes went from Calicut, by reason whereof there was so great necessitie & lacke of victuals there, that the citie remained almost vninhabited.

Of the safe arriuall of the Captaine Generall at Lisbonne, and of the great honour the king Don Manuel gaue to Edwarte Pacheco. chap. 80.



The next day after, the which was the first day of Januarie, the Captaine Generall departed toward Cananor, for that there hee went to take in the rest of his lading. And being there arriued, the Factor gaue him to vnderstand of the great victorie that he had gotten in Pandarane, and how the Mozes were very pen-  
sive for the same, suspecting that from thence forth all our men might remaine in the Indias, and that without feare. For as their pride was before this victorie great, so they pretence was alwayes thought to be, to kill both the Factor, and all those that remained with him. The like tale also did the king of Cananor alwayes tell. The Captaine Generall being readie to departe, before his going he made an Oracion vnto Manuel Telez, and those that remained with him touching that which they should doe, lauding before them the great seruice that Edwarte Pacheco had done, and therefore he woulde giue him no greater a Flote then Francisco de Alburquerque left, and an hundred fighting men in it. But after that he was departed,

The number of ships and men, vvhich were left in the Indias vvith Manuel Telez the Captain generall



## The Conquest

there were in the Indias no moze warres, for that the king of Calycut remained as in case aforesaid. The Captaine generall being departed from Cananor toward Portingale, he arrived at Mylinde the first day of September, where without comming a land, he sent Antonio de Saldanua to y<sup>e</sup> citie, for many rich prizes which he had left there, & had taken befoze at the Cape Quardatum, where he went toward the Indias. And from thence he directed his course toward Qui-loa, to recover ther y<sup>e</sup> kings tribute which y<sup>e</sup> king wold not pay. From thence he departed the tenth day of Februarie, without chauncing vnto him any thing worth the writing, arrived at Lishborne the 22. day of June. 1525. with two ships moze then he carried out with him, when he went toward the Indias. All these were laden with great stoze of riches, for the which the king Don Manuel gaue him great honour, and the like he did to Edwarte Pacheco, after y<sup>e</sup> he vnderstood what good seruice he had done him in the Indias, & how by his meanes the Factorie was there mainteined, & also the credit of his power. And for that all men shuld haue knowledge of so notable seruice, immediatly vpon thursday next after the Captaine generals arriuall, was commaunded to be made a solempne Procession, as they vse on Corpus Christi day, in the which he went from y<sup>e</sup> high church, vnto Santo Domingus, carieng with him Edwarte Pacheco. In this Church there was a Sermon, made by the Bishop of Vizew called Don Diego Ortis, who brought in by order, all that Edwarte pacheco had done in the warres against the king of Calycut. This feast was not onely kept in Lishborne, but also in Algaruy, & in all the citie & notable towne of Portingale, which was so done by the kings commaundement. Moreover, he wrote of the same vnto the Pope, by Don Ioan Sutill, which was then Bishop of sartin, who had the carriage of those letters. Besides y<sup>e</sup>, he sent the same to many christian Princes, y<sup>e</sup> they might know of those notable acts & victories, being such a thing, as within these our dayes no prince hath done y<sup>e</sup> like for his subjects.

1525.

Indeede  
this Ed-  
warte Pa-  
checo vvel  
deserued  
great ho-  
nor & cō-  
mendatio  
for his  
seruice

FINIS.



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